The Outlook

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The Gateway of the Nation

In an article in the January Magazine Number of The Outlook, entitled "The Gateway of the Nation," Mr. Robert Watchorn, Commissioner at the Port of New York, will discuss the practical side of the problem of immigration from the point of view of the man who is more closely in touch with it than any other in the country. Mr. Watchorn's view of the aliens who are coming to this country to the number of more than a million and a quarter a year, and of the influence which this tremendous infusion of new material will have on our country, is pre-eminently optimistic. An immigrant himself twenty years ago, and now as good an American as the most direct descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers, he writes with understanding and sympathy of both sides of the immigrant question. A second article, by another writer, in the same number will describe the organization at Ellis Island which guards the gateway against the undesirable alien and at the same time gives the desirable immigrant his first welcome to this country and helps him to go on to his destination unmolested by the swindlers and robbers who made the incoming stranger their prey in the old days. The articles will be illustrated by a series of remarkable photographic character-studies of typical immigrants.

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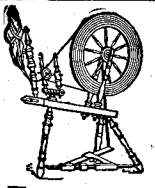

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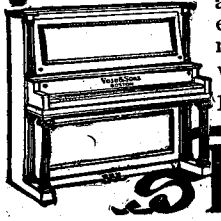

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The Outlook

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 30, 1907

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Prohibition in Alabama

After the first of January, 1909, the sale of liquor will be illegal in the State of Alabama. This is the second State in the South to adopt, this year, statutory prohibition. As our readers know, Georgia led the way. Unlike the movement in the North, State prohibition in Georgia and Alabama has been the consequence, if not the direct outcome, of a no-license movement under local option. Inasmuch as local option prevails in other States of the South where conditions, social and racial, resemble those of Georgia and Alabama, it is expected that before long these two States will have imitators. As in the case of Georgia, there were some picturesque scenes in connection with the adoption of the new law. When the State Senate began its session on Tuesday of last week, the galleries were crowded with women. One of the Senators arose and appealed to his colleagues to allow the ladies the privilege of the floor, and expressed his amazement that any objection should have been raised to the proposal. The only objection was withdrawn, and in a few moments the floor was filled with feminine spectators. When the bill was adopted, the doxology, which had sounded before Grady's statue in Atlanta, Georgia, was heard again in the Senate Chamber of Alabama. Accompanied though the passage of both the Alabama and the Georgia law was with expressions of enthusiasm, the enactment was really in each case the result of no little cool business sense. The Outlook does not regard this State prohibition movement as proof of real temperance progress. Both experience and political theory indicate that the evils of the liquor traffic are most effectively dealt with when they are controlled by local sentiment. But in these Southern States, which now have disregarded both experience and theory in their liquor laws, conditions differ in many important respects from those which have prevailed in States where prohibition has failed. For the South the policy of State prohibition may possibly, therefore, prove more effective than it has elsewhere in suppressing the evils of the American saloon.

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The Motto on the Coinage

When it became known that the new ten-dollar gold piece, for which Augustus Saint-Gaudens prepared the design, lacked the customary motto, "In God We Trust," various religious organizations and individuals, especially clergymen, protested. Inasmuch as it was the President that had arranged for the new designs, the protests were directed to him. The strength of these protests makes it worth while to outline the history of this motto. It was in 1864, after two years and a half of discussion, and after the consideration of several phrases, that Congress authorized the use of such a device, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the then new two-cent piece; and a year later it made it lawful for the motto to be put upon gold and silver coins. In Section 18 of the Act of February 12, 1873, this provision of the Act of 1865 was practically re-enacted; but in the Revised Statutes (§ 3517) that part of Section 18 which authorized the motto was omitted; and later (§ 5596) the omitted portion of that section was repealed. Although there was thus no warrant in the law for the use of the motto, the President, as he stated in a letter made public week before last, might have felt at liberty to retain it if he had approved of it. But he did not

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approve. The reasons he states as follows:

> My own feeling in the matter is due to my very firm conviction that to put such a motto on coins, or to use it in any kindred manner, not only does no good, but does positive harm, and is in effect irreverence, which comes dangerously close to sacrilege. A beautiful and solemn sentence such as the one in question should be treated and uttered only with that fine reverence which necessarily implies a certain exaltation of spirit. Any use which tends to cheapen it, and, above all, any use which tends to secure its being treated in a spirit of levity, is from every point of view profoundly to be regretted.
>
> It is a motto which it is indeed well to have inscribed on our great National monuments, in our temples of justice, in our legislative halls, and in buildings such as those at West Point and Annapolis—in short, wherever it will tend to arouse and inspire a lofty emotion in those who look thereon. But it seems to me eminently unwise to cheapen such a motto by use on coins, just as it would be to cheapen it by use on postage stamps or in advertisements.

As if to supply the President with illustrations of his argument, the newspapers have abounded with new—and not very subtle—variants of the old gibes. Unquestionably considerations of artistic effect have had weight and should have had weight in the designs of the new coin. We believe the coin is more beautiful for the simplicity of its design, secured in part by the omission of the inscription. Thus the legal, moral, and æsthetic reasons for the removal of the motto are strong. Nevertheless The Outlook believes that the raising of the issue was a mistake, simply because the æsthetic advantage does not compensate for the misunderstanding it has occasioned, the jocularity it has suggested, and the useless stir it has created. There are a great many people who confound symbol with reality, and who think that to take such an inscription off the coin is to disavow all trust in God and is therefore an act of irreligion. One clergyman is reported to have spoken of "the religious sentiment of the American people" as being "effaced." Of course it has not been effaced (indeed, even the motto itself remains on the silver dollars, half-dollars, and quarters); but the feeling that the sentiment has been effaced—or at least attacked—is genuine. It is never well to shock people except for some real and adequate compensating advantage; and we do not believe that in this case the advantage was adequate. Since, however, the issue has been raised, churches ought to ponder the fact that if all ecclesiastical assemblages were stirred as mightily over the evils of child labor, for instance, as some have been over the omission of an inscription on a single series of gold coins, the churches' power in moral issues would be vastly increased; and that it would be well if the protesting ministers should devote all their energies toward practical measures for developing in the American people the spirit of reverence for God and obedience to his law.

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An Important Constitutional Decision

When the New York Legislature, on the recommendation of the Governor, passed a bill providing for a special recount and recanvass of the ballots cast in the last mayoralty election in New York City, The Outlook condemned the bill as unjust in certain important provisions, as unnecessary because the existing law made adequate provision for correcting injustice if any had been perpetrated by the official count and canvass, and impolitic and perilous because for the Legislature to provide by special legislation for a recount on the demand of a disappointed candidate was to set a dangerous precedent and to cast a doubt over every close election. The Court of Appeals of the State has now unanimously declared the act to be unnecessary because "the whole question can be tried and determined in the quo warranto suit now pending;" everything authorized by the special statute to be done can be done under the direction of the court in that proceeding, and probably as speedily. And the Court has with equal unanimity declared the act to be unconstitutional on the ground on which The Outlook declared it to be impolitic: it declares that the Legislature has no power under the Constitution to direct by special legislation a recount and recanvass by the courts in a disputed election. The proceeding authorized by the

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act must be regarded either as a recanvass of the votes cast in the election or as a judicial trial of the rights of the opposing candidates to the office. If it is the first, the Constitution provides that all convassing of votes shall be conducted by a bi-partisan board; if it is the second, the Constitution gives to the candidates a right to have the issue of fact tried by a jury. The recount act provides, as the Court of Appeals declares, for neither of these Constitutional modes of procedure. The Outlook is very glad to have this authoritative decision that the Legislature has not the power which we thought it ought never to exercise. A recanvass, in our opinion, would not probably in this case alter the result. But were it otherwise, had Mr. McClellan been declared Mayor by an incorrect or even a fraudulent canvass, it is far less dangerous to suffer one such erroneous or dishonest canvass than allow the Legislature at its will to overset any election which a disappointed candidate may choose to contest. What the Court of Appeals says concerning the claim of such power for the Legislature will, we think, commend itself to the sober second thought of all intelligent voters:

> If such were its power the Legislature might, except for the bi-partisan provision first found in the Constitution of 1895, equally conduct the recanvass and make the determination itself. The result of such a doctrine would be appalling. Where the result of an election had been adverse to the party to which a majority of its members belonged the Legislature might by a subsequent statute authorize a recanvass of the election of the Governor, of the judges of the courts, of the State officers, and of the Presidential electors, who in this State are elected by the people.

Though the specific provisions violated by this act may, for ought we know, be peculiar to the Constitution of New York State, the general principle laid down by the Court of Appeals is one of universal application, and is commended to the approval of the citizens of all the States.

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Chicago's New Telephone Franchise

The telephone franchise renewal ordinance passed recently by the Chicago City Council and approved by Mayor Busse runs for twenty years, but provides for possible municipal purchase at the end of ten years or fifteen years, as well as at the expiration of the grant. The city at the present time, however, is without the charter power to exercise this right. In the preliminary negotiations leading to the passage of the renewal ordinance the Chicago authorities were obliged to meet some problems of interest to telephone users generally. The Chicago Telephone Company, which has accepted this renewal, is a subsidiary company of the Bell company. It naturally, therefore, uses Bell instruments. A few years ago Chicago, unwisely, many thought, granted a franchise to a competing company. That company uses the automatic device. Only five thousand of these instruments are now in use in Chicago, but within a year the company must have twenty thousand subscribers or forfeit its telephone plant to the city. The automatic telephone is in use in several cities, notably Los Angeles, Grand Rapids, and Fall River. The largest exchange is in Los Angeles, where about thirty thousand instruments are in service. The automatic instrument has obvious advantages. It dispenses with the operators and thereby saves expense and at the same time improves the quality of the service. In addition, it is absolutely secret. Conversations cannot be overheard, as is the case where the manual instruments are in use. The critics of the automatic system contend that it is very well for a small number of subscribers, but that it is impracticable for general use in a city of the size of Chicago, where the telephone subscribers number about one hundred and forty thousand. Champions of the automatic system say that it is capable of indefinite expansion, but they admit that the largest system in actual use is that of Los Angeles, with thirty thousand subscribers. In the eyes of many, it was unfortunate that Chicago, after this question had been raised, did not secure more expert information on the point of the relative desirability and practicability for large exchanges of the manual and automatic systems, and did not seek to force unification of the rival interests before renewing the franchise of the

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Bell company. Another important question raised, but not satisfactorily settled, in Chicago, was that of connections between the Bell and the independent companies. Within a radius of a few hundred miles of Chicago there are more than a million patrons of independent telephone lines, and it was argued that the business interests of Chicago would benefit from requiring the Bell company to allow the users of independent lines to make long-distance connections with the Bell lines in Chicago. This demand was made, not by the independent interests, which desire long-distance connections with Chicago though not by the Bell lines, but in the name of the larger public. It is obvious that the great telephone-using public would be better served if a subscriber in one place could make long-distance connections with any telephone users of whatever system in neighboring cities. It is because some of these larger questions were not satisfactorily worked out, and because the rates were said to be too high to start with, that the passage of the renewal ordinance provoked considerable criticism in Chicago. In its detailed provisions the ordinance has meritorious features. It reserves to the city the right to regulate rates anew at the end of thirty months, and every five years thereafter. It also provides for publicity of accounts. The ordinance, moreover, prescribes specifically the various rates to be charged by the telephone company. In our judgment, a telephone monopoly strictly regulated by law both as to efficiency and as to rates is better for any community than indiscriminate competition, with all the ensuing confusion.

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A Champion of Bossism

Mayor Reyburn, of Philadelphia, has developed a deep-seated hostility to the civil service law of 1906, which for sixteen months was efficiently administered in the interest of the public welfare, and he is doing all within his power to break down the system and render it ineffective. He has frankly declared that he had not read the law until after he had been in office for three months, and then it had made him "very tired." He did, however, concede that "we intend to obey the law, but we will not do any more than we have to," but he seems to be doing even less than that. He, or, more accurately speaking, the Philadelphia "organization," of which he is the complaisant and useful friend in office, wanted to make places for some of the men who had lost their positions in the political upheaval of 1905–6, and who are locally known as the "martyrs of 1905." The list of those who were to be appointed was prepared and published, but without reference to the civil service law or any suggestion that it had been complied with in any degree. It was not even alleged that any of the proposed appointments came within any of the exceptions which the law enumerates, nor had the places been exempted on the ground that they required special fitness. The law was simply ignored. The Civil Service Commission (composed of the Mayor's own friends and appointees) rebelled, but the Mayor took them in hand. When he was asked about how the Commission felt as to the appointments, "They did not know how to feel," was the Mayor's reply. "To be frank with you, the Commission has nothing to do with the situation. They are wrong in the position they have taken. They are a little too tender on the law and a little too much impressed with their own importance. They think they are carrying the whole city on their shoulders, and they are afraid of criticism; but if they are afraid of newspaper harpooning, they had better step down. There is no use disguising the fact that these appointments are political." Seldom has there been a more open defiance of the law than contained in this brutally frank avowal of intention. The spirit of the worst type of political boss is expressed in the Philadelphia Mayor's latest comment on his obedient Civil Service Commissioners: "They don't know how to twist the law; they are too sensitive. Their collars rub some; but they'll get used to 'em in time." It remains to be seen whether Philadelphians will or will not get used to such subjection of their public officials to the party collar.

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Twenty-five Years of Public Service

It was characteristic of the methods and purpose of the Charity Organization Society that at its twenty-fifth anniversary, held in New York last week, far less time was devoted to self-congratulation than to a practical conference on what must be done in the near future for the betterment of living conditions. More than one speaker agreed with the remark of Dr. Muensterberg, who came all the way from Germany for the sole purpose of attending this conference, when he said that the word charity no longer described exactly the work of the organization, because that work had changed from a purely philanthropic to a social conception. One speaker, indeed, actually advocated a change in the Society's name, but those present for the most part received with sympathetic applause the reply from another speaker that it was the duty of all workers in this field to bring back the word charity to its older and broader significance. Mr. de Forest put the purpose of the organization, of which he is the head, most compactly when he said: "To-day we believe that poverty, instead of being a permanent condition, is in many of its forms a curable disease, and while we are no less ready to provide food and clothing and shelter, we are putting the stress of our effort on removing its causes." And Governor Hughes emphasized the same idea when he summed up as follows:

> I have no illusions with reference to the future. Laziness, thriftlessness, evil passions, and inordinate appetite will continue to wreck human lives. But we can replace ignorance with knowledge; we can give access to air and light; we can build barriers against infection; we can keep our city clean, wholesome, and attractive; we can see to it that human beings may labor under decent conditions with proper consideration for life and health and efficiency, and we can make our work for social uplifting fruitful and progressive, because each step will be taken with accurate knowledge based on careful investigation, and through harmony of effort there will be a minimum of losses.

That the work of the Charity Organization Society has been neither local nor restricted by narrow conceptions of its functions was brought out graphically in Mayor McClellan's recapitulation of some of the public services rendered, such as the administration of the San Francisco earthquake fund by Dr. Devine, the expenditure of the Slocum relief fund of over $100,000 (raised in less than twenty hours) by Dr. Devine and Mr. Allen, the founding of the Provident Loan (which has during the last year loaned over $10,000,000), the creation through the efforts of the Society of the Tenement-House Department, and the effective carrying out of scores of other practical, economic relief methods. The Outlook begs to join in the general congratulation and appreciation extended to the Charity Organization Society on the occasion of its silver anniversary, and to wish for it that the forthcoming quarter-century may be as prolific as that which has just passed in its judicious and intelligent helpfulness to New York City and to the cause of humanity.

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Charles T. Barney

One of the most painful episodes of the recent financial panic in New York City was the tragic death of Mr. Charles T. Barney, until recently President of the Knickerbocker Trust Company. His friends are entirely familiar with the errors and defects which led to so deplorable an end of so gifted and promising a career; but the public is not, although it ought to be, familiar with the unselfish and public-spirited work which he did in many directions for the betterment of the city and the benefit of the whole community. It is right that the public should draw certain moral lessons from his errors, but it is equally right that the public should pay him just honor for the fine qualities of his citizenship, and that his career should be remembered for the admirable example it affords of a business man deeply engrossed in industrial and financial affairs of the most exhausting kind yet preserving a spirit and finding the time for philanthropic and civic activities of a high order. As a member of the Municipal Art Commission during Mayor Strong's administration, Mr. Barney was personally instrumental in beautifying the city with some of its best examples of municipal architecture

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and sculpture. As a graduate of Williams College he was actively interested in the University Club and in the promotion of its new building, especially in the development of its library, one of the most notable semi-public rooms from the point of view of art and architecture in the country. He was a master spirit in the portrait exhibitions which enabled the people of New York to see some of the finest examples of portraiture in the history of art. He aided and encouraged those engaged in maintaining high standards of musical education in the city, notably in the New York Music School Settlement, which is one of the most interesting and praiseworthy of the various enterprises for social education in New York. One of the original members of the Board of Managers of the New York Zoölogical Society, occupying successively the positions of Treasurer and Chairman of the Executive Committee, he gave not only liberal sums of money to the Society, but a large amount of personal attention to the problems of planting, landscape gardening, construction of buildings, etc., in what is one of the most beautiful and useful of the public breathing-spaces in New York City. He was a trustee of the New York Ophthalmic and Aural Institute and of the New York Orthopædic Hospital, to both of which philanthropic institutions he contributed generously of his time and money. Perhaps, however, his leadership in the New York Anti-Smoke League was the greatest single contribution he made to the welfare and happiness not only of his fellow-citizens, but of the armies of visitors who come to New York from every part of the United States. The Outlook has more than once commented on the clarity of the atmosphere in this city and the beauty of its blue sky, in both of which natural advantages it stands among the foremost cities of the world. Two or three years ago the danger became imminent that the city was to be robbed of its pure air and its clear sky by the unhealthful and in many cases illegal use of soft coal for fuel. What Chicago, Pittsburg, and other Western cities have suffered from this blight is only too well known. The New York Anti-Smoke League, of which Mr. Barney was the leader, engaged counsel, made investigations, and spent large sums of money in struggles with powerful but selfish interests, and finally succeeded in suppressing the nuisance on the one hand, and, on the other, in educating public opinion against the pollution of the atmosphere, so that New York is probably free for all time from this menace to its comfort and health. When, a short time ago, the attorney for the Anti-Smoke League was asked what part Mr. Barney had played in the crusade, he replied: "Every part. He started it. He kept all his associates up to the mark. He paid all of the expenses the first year and a large part of them always. I have often heard him say, 'The babies of New York shall have pure air.'" In the performance of these civic duties Mr. Barney set an example which ought to be an encouragement and a help to those who believe that civic pride, human sympathy, and a real philanthropic spirit are perfectly compatible with the conduct of great business affairs.

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Moncure D. Conway Mr. Moncure D. Conway, who recently died in Paris, was a very familiar figure at the Authors' Club and at the Century Association in New York City, where his acquaintances had the opportunity of gathering in his talk the harvest of a long life of active observation. For, although Mr. Conway was for many years by profession a writer, he had mixed with men in a remarkable way, and had shared to an unusual degree in the moral and intellectual movements of the time. A Virginian by birth and the son of a slave-owner, educated at Fredericksburg and at Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, under strong Methodist influences at home, he studied law, contributed to the columns of a Richmond newspaper, and brought out a pamphlet on "Free Schools for Virginia," in which he urged the adoption of the New England common school system in that State. At the age of eighteen he became a Methodist preacher in Maryland, but associations with Hicksite Quakers, familiarity with the works of Emerson,

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and steadily increasing interest in the anti-slavery movement, finally led him to retire from the Methodist ministry and enter the Harvard Divinity School. Returning to the South after his graduation in 1854, one of his earliest actions was to denounce the killing of a negro by a mob at Culpeper Court House; and befriending a fugitive slave sent him out of Virginia, and he became a Unitarian pastor in Washington, and later at Cincinnati. He soon became prominent among the anti-slavery leaders. He gathered his father's former slaves who were within Union lines and colonized them in Ohio, was estranged from his family and many of his friends, and in 1863 went to England to explain and advocate the cause of the Federal Government. The interest which he awakened in England led to his acceptance of the pastorate of South Place Chapel, Finsbury, where he remained until 1884, when he returned to this country. As a preacher he stood outside all church lines. Meanwhile he made many friends in London. The description of his journey to Edinburgh with Carlyle when the latter delivered his rectorial address is one of the most individual and interesting studies of a great man at the very climax of his career. He was the author of a number of books, and an indefatigable contributor to magazines and newspapers. In 1883 he made a journey to India, the record of which, "A Pilgrimage to the Wise Men of the East," was not published until last year. Readers of The Outlook have not forgotten the vivacity with which he described his attempt to overtake so-called miracles in that country, and his very interesting account of his experiences with Madame Blavatsky. His "Life of Thomas Paine" was perhaps his most important work. Although long absent from the United States, Mr. Conway was a thoroughly convinced American and an enthusiastic supporter of democratic institutions. He had lived in a very wide circle, had passed through many stages of religious belief, had been part of some of the most important ethical movements of his time, and was, in his later years, a rich repository of unique and significant experiences.

The English Premier

The sudden illness from which the British Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, suffered after his recent address in Bristol appears to have been serious in its character, and the announcement that he will be compelled to take entire rest from Government duties and political activities for some weeks to come has awakened a good deal of apprehension in Liberal ranks. The Premier is by no means a young man, having passed his seventieth birthday. The death of his wife, a few months ago, was a very heavy blow, from which he has not entirely recovered. His responsibilities have perhaps not been greater than those of most Premiers, but they have been so varied and in some respects so complicated that they must have borne heavily on a man of his years; although, as a matter of fact, age is a purely personal matter. At seventy and later Mr. Gladstone was not only in full possession of all his faculties, but had unimpaired working capacity. Sir Henry has endeared himself to his own party by his frankness, his simplicity, and the generosity of his nature. When Mr. Balfour was Premier, his spokesmen on all occasions were chosen from a little group of personal friends. Sir Henry pursues the opposite policy, and his hospitality to young men is one of his most marked characteristics. The last session of the House of Commons was marked by the appearance of an unusual number of new debaters among the younger Liberals, well equipped for their work and full of promise for the future. For men of ability and force the Premier makes the amplest opportunity. To see him on the Government benches, surrounded by members of the Cabinet, is to realize, if one is sensitive to atmosphere, that, while in no sense a great man, he commands in unusual measure the confidence of his associates and their personal affection. His retirement at this juncture would be a serious loss to the Liberal party, and in that event the party would be face to face with a very difficult situation in attempting to choose his successor. Political opponents unite with political friends in expressions of personal friendship to the Premier.

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Women in English Municipal Life

Women in England are gradually securing direct political rights in lieu of the indirect political advantages which a few of them enjoyed before the sweeping changes made by the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832, and the Act which reformed the municipal corporations in 1835. Women had never enjoyed the Parliamentary franchise. The most diligent search into Parliamentary history has not discovered a single piece of evidence to show that women ever directly voted for members of the House of Commons. In the days of the unreformed House of Commons, however, women frequently controlled the naming of members of the House of Commons as an appanage to a manor or a great estate. No less a personage than Charles James Fox was one of the men famous in Parliamentary history who owed their election to women patrons of boroughs. Moreover, in some of the old burgage boroughs, in which the right of election was in the owners of certain ancient small freehold properties, women owners, while they could not vote, had the right to transfer their voting qualifications on the eve of a Parliamentary election to men who voted for them. In the old freemen boroughs also wives, daughters, and widows of freemen enjoyed some advantages—political and social—under the municipal régime that survived until 1835. The Reforms of 1832 and 1835 left women without any of these equivocal political rights. But since 1869 direct political power has been gradually conferred on them by Parliament in all departments of municipal government. In that year women householders were given the right to vote at municipal elections. From 1875 onwards women have been elected in increasing numbers to the boards of guardians of the poor. When the County Government Acts of 1888 and 1889 went into operation, it was supposed that women were eligible as County Councilors and Aldermen. The late Lady Sandhurst was chosen an Alderman of the London County Council. Other women were elected to other councils; but a decision of the House of Lords, as a court of appeal, was against them; and from 1890 until 1907 women, although they were eligible as members of rural and district councils under the Local Government Reform Act of 1894, were excluded from city and county councils, and with the disappearance of the school boards in 1903 they lost the right that they had possessed since 1870 of election to local education boards. During the session of Parliament of 1907 a statute was passed which enacted that a woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage from being a Councilor or Alderman of a borough or county; and at the municipal elections last November four women were elected to borough councils. The distinction of being the first woman Councilor lies with Miss Edith M. Sutton, daughter of a horticulturist of world-wide reputation, of Reading, Berkshire. Miss Sutton had long been a guardian of the poor, and when she was nominated for one of the wards at Reading she was elected without a contest.

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The Political Dominance of the Dutch in British South Africa

The early weeks of the new year will see new Governments installed at Cape Town and at Bloemfontein. In the Orange River Colony the election will be the first since the colony was granted representative and responsible government by the Campbell-Bannerman Administration. In Cape Colony the election is due to the fact that the Dutch majority in the Legislative Council—the upper house—refused to pass the money bill of 1907 unless Dr. Jameson, the Premier, would pledge himself to a general election. This is an almost unheard-of use of the powers of a second chamber in any British country; but Dr. Jameson was in a position where he had to do as he was bid by the Legislative Council. In England these two colonial elections—both of them of more than usual significance—have aroused little interest, because in London it has been accepted as a foregone conclusion that both at Cape Town and Bloemfontein the Dutch will command majorities in the new Parliaments. In the Orange River Colony a Dutch Government is inevitable. In the days before the war there were not sufficient

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British town residents to make even the nucleus of a British party, and since the war immigration into the Colony has been so exceedingly small that there is not a single constituency in which British influence could make itself felt. Before and during the war Sir Gordon Sprigg was Premier of Cape Colony. He held office during this period solely by virtue of Dutch support in the Legislative Chamber; and Dr. Jameson, who succeeded him in 1903, could not have had sufficient Parliamentary support to keep his Government together for a month had it not been for the large number of Dutch residents who were disfranchised for their open sympathy with the Boers while the war was in progress. The periods for which these Dutch electors in the up-country constituencies were denied the Parliamentary vote are now at an end, and even Dr. Jameson himself has no hope that the British in Cape Colony will be able to hold on to the position which accidentally fell to them as the result of the commission of inquiry into the charges against the up-country Dutch that followed the war. The British residents of Cape Colony have only three Parliamentary strongholds—Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and East London; and they are strong in these places because they are ports, and it is in the ports that the British residents congregate as importers and wholesalers. Elsewhere in the Colony the Dutch are easily in control of the Parliamentary constituencies. Since the general election in the Transvaal last year Premier Botha has improved his position in the upper house. He has now a majority in both the elected and the nominated chamber; so that in 1908, within six years of the end of the war, the Dutch will be dominant in all British South African colonies which have representative and responsible government, except Natal. Natal has comparatively few Dutch residents, and it has always been the most British of the South African colonies. The Radicals in England who persistently opposed the war are now insisting that all that Great Britain has gained from the war is the Culinan diamond, which was presented to King Edward by the Transvaal on the anniversary of his birthday in November last. But when such statements are made, the fact is overlooked that Great Britain has its High Commissioner at Pretoria; and that over much of the legislation of the Parliaments of Cape Colony, Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal the Government in Downing Street can still exercise its power of disallowance. In South African politics generally the most significant development is the protectionist movement in Cape Colony. Like Canada and Australia, Cape Colony is intent on a national policy—a policy that will exclude imports and foster native industry—and the likelihood is that before 1908 is far advanced Cape Colony will have ranged itself, with Canada and Australia, among the protectionist colonies of Great Britain.

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Thanksgiving

Let us be thankful—

For the education we call life, which only incidentally enables us to gain houses and lands and possessions of many kinds; but, in ways and by methods planned beyond our wisdom, if we accept it, leads us step by step to purity, freedom, and power;

For the scourgings and buffetings that smite and sting when we strive to turn a training for spiritual efficiency into a mere skill in making ourselves comfortable;

For the calls to work and danger that constantly awaken us out of sleep and summon us to those perilous and arduous tasks which make us men;

For the defeat of ambitions and plans which, if realized, would wreck the highest possibilities of our natures;

For the pressure of work and responsibility which holds us in our places and steadies us under the allurements of ease and luxury;

For the pain that follows upon untruth and impurity, for the thunderbolts that strike us when we break the divine law, for the bitter punishments that overtake and arrest us when we stray into the paths of dishonor;

For the trials which deepen our affections and enlarge our sympathies;

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For the sense of the manifold sorrow of humanity which breeds in us infinite compassion and gives us the power of sympathy;

For those deeper experiences which, in hours of anguish, make us aware of the greatness of life and its immortal significance;

For the sweetness and happiness of love, the inspiration of duty, the joy of self-denial and service;

For the privilege of forgetting ourselves in devotion and loyalty to others;

For a divine love which seeks, not our comfort, but our growth; and spares us no trial if only it can bring out the best in us;

For the joy of loving God and the peace of trust in him;

For the companionship of One who has lived through all our experiences and shown us how to be liberated and enriched by them;

For faith in immortality and the glory of the heavenly vision.

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Paternalism and the Treasury

A correspondent, whose inquiries are typical of those arising in the minds of thousands of citizens all over the country, asks us the following three pertinent questions concerning the issue of $100,000,000 of Government notes announced last week by Mr. Cortelyou, Secretary of the Treasury, and approved by the President.

1. How does the Secretary of the Treasury get the authority to issue $100,000,000 of interest-bearing certificates? Has he the power at any time to increase the debt of the Nation at his discretion?

2. How does this issue operate to release currency and so start the congealed blood of the Nation flowing once more?

3. Is it wise to give the Secretary of the Treasury the power he now seems to possess to limit or expand the currency in his discretion? If not, what is the remedy?

These questions, simple as they appear, involve a discussion of some of the fundamental principles that underlie the whole range of National finance. No single Secretary of the Treasury, no one group of bankers, no special school of political economists, certainly no one newspaper, can determine and categorically announce these principles. They are the outgrowth of decades of study and centuries of experience. But the facts concerning any specific act of the Government may always be ascertained and stated, although it is sometimes difficult to dig out the simple, common-sense truth from the mass of technical language and professional jargon which is as apt to confuse and befog debates about finance as it is discussions of theology. We shall, therefore, endeavor to answer our correspondent's three questions in the simplest and homeliest language at our command.

1. Mr. Cortelyou's authority for borrowing $100,000,000 at this time and giving therefor Government notes at three per cent interest to run one year is found in Section 32 of Chapter 448 of the United States Statutes at Large for the year 1898. This was an Act passed by the Fifty-fifth Congress at the time of the Spanish War "to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures and *for other purposes*." [The italics are ours.] This was the law which, among other things, imposed the stamp tax for bank checks, leases, bills of lading, certificates of stock, and other commercial and legal documents. Section 32 of that Act authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury "to borrow from time to time, at a rate of interest not exceeding three per centum per annum, such sum or sums as *in his judgment* [the italics are ours] may be necessary to meet public expenditures." This section further prescribes that the certificates shall be for fifty dollars or some multiple of that sum, that they shall not be made for a term longer than one year, and "that the amount of such certificates outstanding shall at no time exceed one hundred millions of dollars." The special tax features of this Act were in due course repealed. Section 32, however, was not repealed, the logical assumption being that Congress intended

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the Secretary of the Treasury to make use of this provision in just such times of emergency as that which we are passing through. In some quarters the question has been raised as to whether the issue of the new one-year certificates is legal and whether its purpose properly comes under the head of "public expenditures." There appears to us to be not the slightest question of its legality, although there may be a question of its expediency. By the specific terms of the law it is left to the Secretary's judgment to determine whether this $100,000,000 is necessary to meet public expenditures and to define what "public expenditures" are. He declares that the necessity has arisen. The only recourse the country has, if it thinks he is exercising his discretion unwisely, is to urge his removal from office. This answers our correspondent's inquiry as to the legality of the issue.

2. What is the purpose and what will be the effect of offering to the country this issue of $100,000,000 of one-year three per cent Government bonds? The President and Mr. Cortelyou evidently share the opinion of the financial experts of the country that at least $100,000,000 of cash is being hoarded or preserved in safe deposit boxes, bureau drawers, stockings, and other private receptacles, and also by some banks. It is well known that many small holders of currency have been buying post-office money-orders payable to themselves, thus indicating that they trust the Government when they do not trust the private banks. In order to relieve the great stringency in currency immediately without waiting for currency legislation, Mr. Cortelyou, as the mouthpiece of the Government, has said to the holders of the hoarded hundred millions: "You are disturbed about money conditions. You don't know what is going to happen in the next six or eight months. You want to wait and see; and you propose to keep your money in your pocketbooks until these troubles are settled. That's quite natural; but I, acting for the Government, will tell you a better plan. Give your money to me to keep for a year. You know I will pay it back at the end of that time, and I'll not only pay it back, but I'll promise you thirty dollars additional on every thousand you give me for safe keeping." If the Government gets the hundred hoarded millions by this method of persuasion, as there is now every indication that it will, it proposes immediately to put the money on deposit in the banks, where the individual citizen declined to put it. These deposits will be secured to the Government by satisfactory collateral, and the cash will be put into general circulation by the banks throughout the country, either in the form of new commercial loans or in cash payments on checks, which are now, in so many communities, honored only in clearing-house certificates or other tokens of private credit. This action of the Government, personified in Mr. Roosevelt and in Mr. Cortelyou, in performing the services of an intermediary or pacificator between the people and the banks, is beyond question an act of paternalism; it cannot be defended on any other ground than that it is conscious paternalism. The fundamental question is whether this act of paternalism is justifiable and wise. In our opinion, it was justifiable and wise to undertake this paternal experiment. Whether it will produce the result hoped for it is yet too early to say. But if the people at large accept the Government's offer, take the one-year notes, the cash stringency is relieved, and business assumes its normal condition, we believe this extraordinary exercise of the discretion reposed in the Secretary of the Treasury will be regarded as one of the many out-of-the-common and brilliant but at the same time human and practical pieces of statesmanship of the Roosevelt administration.

3. Our correspondent's third question naturally follows. It is quite true that the Secretary of the Treasury has now under the law the power to expand the currency within certain limits prescribed by Congress. But its contraction does not at all rest with the Treasurer, but with the banks, which, however, in retiring their circulation, must follow certain prescribed rules. The Secretary of the Treasury, always of course with the approval of the President and under previous Congressional authorization,

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may aid in the expansion of bank note currency by deciding to issue Government bonds, as in the present case, upon which additional bank notes may be based. In the instance now under discussion new bank notes may be and probably will be issued, not only on $50,000,000 of Panama bonds, but, by a special ruling of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the $100,000,000 of one-year certificates, which are, of course, practically bonds. It appears to us to be wise to give the Secretary of the Treasury fairly flexible power in these particulars. But with such enormous power it is absolutely essential to the welfare of the country that it choose Presidents who may be depended upon to appoint as their Treasury Secretaries men not merely of integrity, but of sound business judgment. This does not always mean technical financial training. Mr. Cortelyou, we believe, has had no banking experience whatever, and yet he has so far proved to be an admirable administrator of his office. It is not necessary, either, that a Secretary of the Treasury should be a great inventive genius. The fundamental principles of the financial side of the Government's business are the fundamental principles of the well-conducted country store, although the technical differences of administration are very great. These technical differences, however, might be very much simplified. For example, subscriptions to Government bonds and emergency loans might, so far as we can see, be easily and safely made through the post-offices of the country. In any event, popular subscriptions might be accepted in the form of post-office money-orders. When the Government desires to get a hundred dollars here and a hundred dollars there from individual holders of cash all over the country, the machinery of subscription must be made as simple as possible. At present the subscriber must send his cash by registered mail or express to designated sub-treasuries. Why should not the Government undertake this transfer of cash by accepting post-office money-orders in payment of subscriptions?

The Outlook recently suggested that the President might wisely appoint a Commission, compact in numbers and composed of expert private bankers and expert treasury officials, to discuss and report to him or Congress subjects for immediate financial legislation. The powers of the Secretary of the Treasury might well be one of the important subjects discussed by such a Commission.

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The Outlook's Encyclical

We have reported the Pope's Encyclical on "Modernism" and Father Tyrrell's "Much Abused Letter," which represents Modernism. We here in a series of definitions give our own Encyclical on Traditionalism *vs.* Modernism, and leave our readers to compare the three documents with one another and with the teachings of Jesus Christ and come to their own conclusions.

Religion is not a series of dogmas imposed on man by authority. Belief in such dogmas is not faith, disbelief in them is not infidelity. Religion is not a set of rules for the government of human conduct. Obedience to such rules is not religion, disobedience is not irreligion. Religion is a life springing up within the soul—the life of God in the soul of man. If this definition seems too vague, then let us say that it is the life of faith, reverence, conscience, hope, love; or, to borrow Edward Everett Hale's definition, Religion is to look up, not down; forward, not backward; out, not in; and to lend a hand.

Religion is natural—as natural as spring. Religion is supernatural—as supernatural as spring. Religion is life; and life is both natural and supernatural, for it is the natural manifestation of the supernatural. There is something in nature more than appears; this something is supernatural. There is something in humanity more than appears; this something is supernatural. To be in harmony with this Power, who is more than the sum of all the powers, with the Life who is more than the sum of all the living, is religion.

Religion is like art. Art is not drawing pictures after a model according to

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rules prescribed by a teacher. The artist, says Ruskin, is a seeing and feeling creature. To see and feel beauty of form and color and to be able so to produce beauty of form and color that others shall see it—this is to be an artist. To feel beauty of conduct and character and to be able so to produce beauty of conduct and character that others shall perceive it—this is religion. Religion is like music. The musician is not one who can play a finger exercise on the piano, whether simple or complex. The musician is one who possesses a certain emotional and imaginative capacity which gives power, first, to perceive and enjoy harmony; second, to interpret the harmonies created by others; last of all, to create them himself. Religion is power to perceive the harmony of conduct and character with the highest standards, and to produce such conduct and character as become in turn a worthy standard for others. She who perceives the beauty of maternity has the beginnings of a religious motherhood; she who in her own life realizes the beauty of maternity has the consummation of a religious motherhood. The veneration of the devout for the Virgin Mary is a true expression of the religious life. Religion is like literature. Literature is not a collection of books; to write literature is not to write a composition according to certain prescribed rules of rhetoric and grammar. Literature is the expression of life. "Behind the shell," says Taine, "there was an animal; behind the document there was a man." To be literary is first to perceive this man behind the document, and to discern in the document the expression of his life; next to have a life worth expressing and a power so to express it as to inspire similar life in others. To be religious is first of all to recognize the hidden life which is expressed in printed page or wrought deed, and next to have such a life and to be able to give effective expression to it in words and deeds which will elicit recognition in others. Religion is like science. A scientist is not one who has stored his memory with a great quantity of unrelated and unclassified phenomena. A scientist is one who perceives the unity in variety which makes nature one, who believes in order and disbelieves in chaos, and who, believing in order, seeks for it in the seemingly contradictory phenomena of the world. He also has faith, and takes physical order for granted, as the Christian believer takes moral order for granted. The mind of the scientist is an orderly mind, as the mind of the musician is a harmonious mind. Disorder in phenomena is hateful to the one as disorder in sounds is hateful to the other. So moral disorder is hateful to the religious soul, and he is filled with an eager desire to resolve the discord and make harmony, to evoke out of the moral chaos a harmonious moral world.

The Church is not the source of religion; religion is the source of the Church. If there were no Church, there would still be religion; if there were no religion, there could be no Church. Churches, dogmas, rituals, change; but religion, the life of God in the soul of man, faith, reverence, conscience, hope, and love, remain ever essentially the same. The Jewish, the Catholic, the Protestant mothers all find expression for the same mother love, though they may sing different lullabies. The Jewish, the Catholic, and the Protestant saints all find expression for the same reverence, though they may utter it in different rituals. As religion is, like literature, a life, and all liturgies, like literatures, are an expression of life, so the Church is like the Republic of Letters. The Republic of Letters is the invisible fellowship which binds together all who rejoice in the literary expression of the inward life, and all who are endeavoring to give expression to the inward life through literary forms. The Church is the invisible fellowship which binds together all who rejoice in the life of faith, reverence, conscience, hope, and love, and are endeavoring to promote that life in themselves and others. The churches are different organic expressions of this inorganic Church, as universities are different organic expressions of the one inorganic scholarly life. The churches express the spiritual aspirations of mankind, as the universities express the intellectual aspirations of mankind. If there were no intellectual aspirations,

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there would be no universities; if there were no spiritual aspirations, there would be no churches. The universities have a certain kind of authority. What the scientific experts declare to be established by their observations the unscientific world generally accepts as established. But the source of this authority is not the decrees of faculties; it is the careful observations of students scattered through the different universities, and collating, comparing, and correcting their several observations. The churches have a certain kind of authority. What the great body of those who are living a life of faith and hope and love testify to be facts in their experience—as, for example, their experience of communion in prayer with an unseen God—may well be accepted as an established fact of experience. But it is established, not by the hierarchy or the theologians, but by the common experience of unnumbered honest and trustworthy souls.

The Bible is not the source of religion; the Bible is an expression of religion. If there had been no Bible, there would still have been religion; if there had not been religion, there could have been no Bible. The Bible is the expression of the religious experience of men of the olden time who were living lives of faith and hope and love, and have written their experiences in their pursuit after God, as Nansen has written his experiences in his pursuit after the North Pole. The open-minded reader does not doubt Nansen's observations merely because he has not seen what Nansen has seen; there is no reason why he should doubt the Psalmist's experiences merely because he has not experienced what the Psalmist has experienced. The Bible is called a revelation because it reveals or unveils or discovers—that is, uncovers—these hidden experiences of the soul. It reveals or unveils or discovers God in history, in nature, in personal experience, and we take courage and press on to find what these ancient men have found and experience what they have experienced.

Jesus Christ is not the source of religion. Religion existed before Jesus Christ came into the world. It exists among peoples who never heard of Jesus Christ. He did not come to found religion, nor to found a special form of religion. A religion as distinguished from religion is a certain definite organic expression of the life of faith and hope and love, with its creed, its ritual, and its ordered fellowship. Jesus Christ promulgated no creed, prescribed no ritual, and ordained no constitution for an organic fellowship. There are a great variety of churches, with differing creeds, interests, and ecclesiastical constitutions, yet they are all Christ's churches. Jesus Christ has clearly and carefully defined his mission. "I have come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." He came to enrich that life of faith and reverence and conscience and hope and love which is religion. He came to furnish a concrete object for our faith in his own life and character; to make reverence more easy for us by furnishing us with an object worthy of our highest reverence; to quicken conscience in us by showing it to us as a perception of the spiritual laws of life, not as a mere prescriber of formal rules of correct conduct; to stimulate hope in us by discovering in the outcasts of his time elements of manhood which they had never suspected in themselves; to inspire men to love by his own loving.

To be a Christian is not to attempt to conform our lives to the Ten Commandments; to be careful not to be idolaters, or Sabbath-breakers, or disobedient to parents, or evil-doers to our neighbors. It is not to attempt to translate the Sermon on the Mount into rules for correct conduct and scrupulously conform our conduct to them. It is to take from Christ the gift of spiritual life as a child takes the gift of intellectual and social and religious life from his mother. It is to be a believer in Christ, a disciple of Christ, a follower of Christ. And to be a believer in Christ is not to believe in the Church's definition of him, it is not to construct a system of theology out of his teaching and believe in that. It is to believe in him; it is to admire him, to trust in him, to wish to be like him. To be a disciple of Christ is not the same as to be a disciple of the Church, to learn its catechism and

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accept its theology. It is to be a pupil of Christ and study his sayings, that we may learn the nature of the true life and the laws of true living, that we may learn how to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, and what is the highest meaning of these three words—sobriety, righteousness, and godliness. To be a follower of Christ is to recognize that he has come into the world to make it a happier and a better world, and to join ourselves to him in a life endeavor to accomplish this divine purpose.

The Pope has characterized Modernism as the "synthesis of all heresies;" were it not for fear of presumption, we should be inclined to say that the faith which we have attempted to define above is the synthesis of all orthodoxies.

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Just and Reasonable

Two correspondents write in criticism of the editorial in The Outlook of October 26 entitled "Just and Reasonable," in which the following language was used: "A just and reasonable rate is one which gives a fair return upon the value of the property employed in the public service, neither more nor less, and this implies a profit equal to the legal rate of interest." The criticism of these correspondents is tersely stated by one of them as follows:

> The legal rate of interest in most States is six per cent. In two States it is only five per cent, and in a few it is somewhat over six per cent. The rate of interest which may properly be expected from an investment varies directly with the hazard involved. If the risk is great, the undertaking must yield large returns in order to secure the necessary support. If the security is excellent, the rate of interest is correspondingly low. This principle is almost axiomatic, and, I think, will be disputed by few. The point I wish to make is that if public service corporations are to receive financial aid from investors, they must yield a return comparable to that from other securities, taking into account the hazard involved. I do not believe, for many cases, that six per cent is a reasonable return. The business of numerous public service corporations is of such a nature as to involve a very considerable risk. . . . The opening of wireless telegraphy across the Atlantic raises the question as to whether this class of service will not eventually supersede the cable. A person will be cautious about investing in a cable company if he knows the Government will limit his profits to six per cent.

The editor is often in a quandary. If he takes many words to state his principles clearly, the editorial is too long and is not read; if, in his endeavor to make his statement brief, he takes too few, his statement is liable to be misunderstood. In this case our desire for brevity has caused us to be misunderstood.

The Pennsylvania court was not deciding what rate the Legislature ought to fix in any specific case; it was deciding what power the Legislature has to fix rates. It decided, on the one hand, that the Legislature has no constitutional power to fix a rate so low that the return upon the value of the property would be less than the legal rate of interest; on the other, that the owners of the property have no constitutional power to insist that the Legislature grant them a return upon the value of the property more than the legal rate of interest. In other words, it determined that there are constitutional limitations on the power both of the Legislature and of the owners of the property, provided the property owned is one employed in the public service, such as a railway. In such a case, the court held that the Legislature has a constitutional right to regulate the rate, but must not fix that rate so low as to confiscate the property of the investors; and that the owners have a constitutional right to demand a fair return on the value of the property, but no constitutional right to demand from the public all that they can get out of it.

It was not the function of the court to determine what rate a Legislature should grant in the particular case before it. The decision of the court was that this was a question to be determined by the Legislature, but within the limits laid down by the court. We agree with our correspondents in thinking that the Legislature ought in all such cases to take account of the hazard involved. When the British Government guaranteed a certain dividend on the capital invested in the railway in India, we believe of three and one-half per cent, no hazard was involved to any one willing to invest

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property at three and one-half per cent. When the city of New York furnished the money for the construction of the Subway, the only hazard involved to the men who took the franchise was the hazard involved to the capital required for equipping and operating it. When the first Pacific railway was built, it was confessedly experimental, and the hazard involved to those who put their money into the enterprise was very great. It is clear from these illustrations that the court could not lay down a rule as to what is a just and a reasonable return in all cases, since the just and reasonable return differs so much in different cases. All that it attempted to do, all that it had authority to do, was to determine what were the limits of discretion allowed to the Legislature.

Our judgment respecting this opinion is not of great importance, but we think our readers entitled to it. Our judgment is that the decision was itself just and reasonable; that the people, acting through their Legislature, ought to have the power to regulate railway rates; that this power ought not to be unlimited; that the investors have a right to a return on the value of the property equal at least to the regular rate of interest; but also that the power of the investors ought not to be unlimited, and that for a larger return than the legal rate of interest they must trust to the conscience and reason of the people whose highways they are operating.

The Legislature, in accordance with the principles of this judicial decision, may preserve the incentive of private profit in public utilities by saying to the corporation: Your profits over and above the legal rate of interest are to be divided between your stockholders and the public treasury. This is the method pursued in the case of the Imperial Bank of Germany and the elevated railways of Boston. The Pennsylvania decision leaves the Legislature free to determine whether it will permit anything above the legal rate of interest to be paid to investors in public utilities, and, if so, how much. The Outlook believes in the preservation of the incentive of private profit in all such cases, under judicious legislative action.

The Spectator

The Spectator feels sensibly richer for a happy and most unimagined chance which afforded his spending part of a vacation in a remote and partially settled province of Canada, not perhaps to be compared with Herculaneum or even with Pompeii, but still centuries and centuries, miles and miles, away from the much-storied places—the coddled, exotic life of the average mountain and seaside resort—and on the border of a lake as yet unknown to the lover of residential hotels and summer boarding-houses.

❀

It was well into the morning when the Spectator found himself (after a four hours' journey from Montreal) at what appeared to be a small hut upon a winding roadway. The Spectator's slavish fidelity to facts forbids calling it a station, although it afterwards proved to be known as such to the surrounding *habitants*. A man was leisurely smoking a pipe as he leaned against the side of the hut, and he eyed the newcomer curiously, but, as he was the only speck of humanity in sight, he was approached, and confirmed, in unspeakably bad French, the Spectator's suspicion that he was "Victor," and was awaiting the Lord Bishop's guest. The Spectator proved to be just that person, and he was forthwith given a seat in the most tremendously rackety and least comfortable vehicle in which it has ever been his misfortune to drive, but which, Victor informed him, was called a "buck-a-board, *en Anglais*"—save the mark!

❀

During the long drive, however, the Spectator must not depreciate the interview which followed, when he ventured to match his French against that of Victor, and, with the help of watching his lean, fresh face and keen blue eyes, there arose a generous yield of conversation, which melted away all reserve, and which added much knowledge to, and a charm peculiarly valued by, the visitor. The Spectator learned (despite much execrable French) that, although schools were dotted here and there within a few miles of each other, none of

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the men, and scarcely more of the women, could read; that (therefore, perhaps?) there were no jails in the district, nor were they needed; that there was no constabulary system, and police were unheard of; that there were neither telegraph stations nor telephones in the neighborhood; that pork was the only meat ever eaten, and buckwheat cakes were the staple article of food both winter and summer. Any news that was given forth was read by the curé of the district from the church steps on Sunday. If a dog had gone astray, or a sheep been lost, or a bridge burned, the news was given out by the priest on Sundays; and it occurred to the Spectator that this plan perhaps accounted somewhat for the large and invariable attendance at church of the entire habitant population. Of race suicide there seemed no imminent danger, as Victor proved to be one of twenty-five children and his sister had a quiverful of fifteen. The priest's edict had gone forth that large families were in order and that they were unfailingly blessed!

❀

The Spectator, feeling his allowance of information to be more than his share, for the conversation had been stimulating and evanescent, started a torpid flow of contrasting conditions in his own home State; but Victor, alas! although he was indulgently courteous as to a child, did not grasp readily what must have seemed ultra-worldly affairs, and he lacked somewhat a gay and brilliant fancy, which, however, could not spoil the Spectator's pleasure in him, nor in the blue and cloudless sky overhead, in the fineness of the air, the fields and hedgerows, and the long, long slopes of grass, as the horse jogged gayly along over the rising and falling ground. The drive was past long and unimpressive stretches of roadway, past little villages or excuses for villages, marked only by a few widely scattered, solitary huts, surrounded by green truck-patches and fields of golden grain.

❀

But the Spectator's fancy was more definitely attracted to a novel feature which chanced to be one of the most characteristic of the habitant invasion. At intervals of about two miles, large black crosses, each topped by a cock, were placed at the roadside's edge, on passing which Victor invariably bowed and took off his hat with an air of subdued reverence and awe, which indeed kindled a sympathetic spark in his companion and inclined him also to remove his own hat. The incident had long been heard and known of, and the newcomer was stirred to find it so realistic.

❀

But the social reciprocity ceased for a second, there was a quick transition, and suddenly, at the turn of the road, in front of the Spectator was spread all the glory of the smooth lake, rich in its soft blur of grays and blues, all blending to a sort of tender beauty, and beyond, the low green hills, thickly wooded, rising from the border's edge, with no sign of human habitation in sight. There was in the sunny mildness, with the full note of bird-song in the ear and the odor of pine groves in the nostril, that most exquisite *something* which makes a supreme appeal, as when, for instance, the sight of the Chartres Cathedral bursts into view and those first light touches of its magic are felt.

❀

There stood the Bishop in his picturesque woodsman's costume waiting for his guest, who murmured (albeit deferentially) something about "when wild in the woods the noble savage ran," and then the canoe was sought—where it lay, not far off, under a clump of trees. Now, the novice who tries to get into a canoe unaided is, if he but knew it, wildly daring fate, or so it seemed to the Spectator, as he, with his unusually rickety arms and legs and his light luggage, finally deposited himself therein. However, as the canoe bore away its burden with a smooth, leisurely gait, the Spectator seemed to float along with a delight not qualified by the usual joys of navigation. As the sun poured itself forth from a firmament of soft clouds, the boat moved onward in the shadow of pine groves, without the rustle of stuff, the invisible movement of feet, or even the

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plash of the oar, pausing at discreet intervals, as it seemed, to repose and ponder; and the freshness of it all, the wonderful sense of calm, could not be exaggerated; it was as though there was nothing else in the world beyond the still, blue water and those deep, deep woods, for the time. The stillness was occasionally broken by the shrill cry of the loon overhead, drifting high and drifting low, at one minute circling the heavens and the next swimming in the lake, crazed, perhaps, by the wandering of her young. As the canoe rounded a little bay, the Bishop's landing came into view, as graceful and trim as the lake-craft itself; and beyond, nestling in a hollow of the wood, among wilding shrubs and tall trees with a foliage perpetually green, stood the log house, covered with trailing vines and surrounded at the edge by a thick cluster of maiden-hair fern. Is the reader of an envious temper? The Spectator would not willingly encourage it, then, but here it was that he spent some memorable days! Here the task-work, the Egyptian bondage of evening clothes and "going out," was abandoned for the nonce. Here, the Bishop assured him, one could be a dissenter, or the most evangelical of low churchmen, or the most Romanistic of ritualists; there was no envying "this man's art or that man's scope," there was no confusion of emotions, only peace—peace, and so indeed the Spectator found it.

❀

For the lover of dramatic incident the Spectator, perhaps, may not be fully equal to the demands made upon him—but there was one picturesque incident which occurred during his stay and which deserves a passing word. The Bishop had been annoyed by a multitude of rats, as the disappearance of numerous articles of precious food bore tragical testimony. These rats had been schooled to no diffidence, despite various and stringent measures adopted toward them, and finally Victor appeared one morning with the news that the Grand Français, the miraculous destroyer of rats, was at hand, and for ten dollars would guarantee to dispose of all rats on the place. This indeed seemed most interesting, most estimable, and the Grand Français appeared almost in the light of a missionary; but how did he conspire to do this helpful deed? Victor was asked. Ah! that was for no mystical inquirers to find out; it was done by a miracle, a gift from heaven! Now, the Bishop, to be sure, does not put his faith in princes, but, with one of those sudden caprices which undermine the firmest resolutions, the agreement was made that ten dollars should be forthcoming if after three days all rats were destroyed; and thus the Grand Français was introduced.

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The first half-day he spent in going about the place looking into corners and discovering the most natural abode of the trouble-makers; the next morning he appeared before the Bishop and begged a copper. "For what?" he was asked. "To throw into the lake, your lordship; it is not right to ask the rats to cross the lake without paying their way!" His sense of the ludicrous did not stay the Bishop's generosity in paying the bribe; he was determined to see the matter to the end, and the penny was forthwith thrown into the lake; but the solemnity of the rite was somewhat marred by the Bishop's quoting, "See how they turn, they fly; shame on those cruel eyes that bore to look on torture and dare not look on war." Then the Grand Français, having forborne any conscientious violence, demanded his ten dollars, with the ready assurance that all rats had gone forever and his services were no longer needed. The Bishop, however, begged for his presence one more night, when he set two traps, in which the following morning he found three large rats confined in dignified dilapidation. Confronted with this supreme witness of his failure, the mystical destroyer of rats was neither abashed nor corrupted into fear; he looked tenderly at the rats and said, "Vell; it is puzzling; but the only solution is that *your God is not my God!*" and he vanished in triumph in the shadow of the pine groves.

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WHAT THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL HAS DONE FOR LONDON AND ITS PEOPLE

BY J. ALLEN BAKER, M.P.

Mr. Baker was born in Canada, where he still has a farm near Trenton, Ontario. He received his education in the high school of that town, and thirty years ago entered upon his father's profession of engineering and the manufacture of certain kinds of industrial machinery. His father, who had been a farmer, had a great genius for invention, and had, what is not always an accompaniment, the energy to push the sale of the articles he had invented and had begun to manufacture. In connection with this, he and his sons went to England about thirty years ago, beginning in a small way, and met with marked success. Mr. Allen Baker has since made London his home. He resides in North London in the section known as Harlesden, and is now Chairman of the Baker & Sons Company, whose works are at Willesden. Mr. Baker quickly became interested in the engineering, sanitary, and other problems which the London County Council had to meet. He was especially interested in the extension and municipalization of tramways. Succeeding Lord Rosebery's membership in that Council, he became a member of the Tramways Committee, then its Vice-Chairman, and then its Chairman. He has done long and efficient work in that specialty as well as in the other departments of the Council's activities. Mr. Baker is also a Member of Parliament, representing East Finsbury, a section of London and a Parliamentary borough. Strictly speaking, London forms a county by itself, and, being neither in Middlesex nor Essex, a number of Parliamentary boroughs are included in it. For instance, the part of London called Westminster comprises three of those boroughs, and such well-known regions of the city as Paddington, St. Pancras, Southwark, etc., comprise one each. Mr. Baker is a Liberal and an enthusiastic supporter of the present Prime Minister's policies. In religion Mr. Baker is a prominent member of the Society of Friends, and is President-elect of the Free Church Association of London, a position in which his personality will doubtless make itself as favorably felt as it has in the domains of trade, science, economics, and politics.—THE EDITORS.

TWO years ago, when spending a delightful Sunday in Philadelphia, I was taken by a friend to visit the Boys' Reformatory at Glen Mills, an institution that I found to be excellently managed. I was introduced to the assembled boys by the Superintendent, as a member of the London County Council. This gentleman had recently been to London, and in introducing me gave a little sketch of the work of the London County Council, and stated that he believed there was no other municipal body in existence that in so short a time had accomplished so great a work. He had gone to London with a view of seeing how the boys' homes and industrial schools in connection with the County Council were administered, and had got in touch with the Council's work. It was delightful to find that our work was appreciated so far from home.

Now, perhaps the primary reason why the County Council has accomplished so much is that, when it was first inaugurated, some of London's best and most prominent citizens were elected to serve upon it—men who felt that their city had long been neglected, that its sanitary and general health conditions were such that the metropolis of the Empire could no longer tolerate, and who were prepared to sacrifice time and money and to devote their best abilities to the work of uplifting the masses of the people. They found insanitary and slum areas where the population was huddled together in one or two room tenements—possibly seven or eight hundred thousand people at that time living under these conditions. Such a congestion of population could mean only squalor, misery, and an abnormally high death rate. In the year 1889, eighteen years ago, the Council was created and began its work. Its first Chairman was that distinguished noble-

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man, Lord Rosebery, afterwards Prime Minister in succession to Mr. Gladstone. He was supported by men like Sir John Williams Benn, Sir John Hutton, Sir John McDougall, Mr. John Burns, M.P. (now a distinguished member of the British Cabinet), Sir Andrew Torrence, W. H. Dickinson, Mr. Costello, Lord Monkswell, Lord Farrar, Lord Avebury (then Sir John Lubbock, afterwards Chairman of the Council), and Lord Welby. Many were men of high social position. The leading bankers, lawyers, and business men were well represented. Not a few of the new Councilors were well known as social reformers and philanthropists.

The term "Progressive" indicates the policy of those men whose sympathy is along the line of social and municipal reform—who care for bettering the conditions of the masses of the poor. It does not necessarily mean Liberal or Tory. For instance, some well-known "Unionists" (Conservatives and Liberal Unionists), like the banker, Mr. Hoare, and Mr. W. W. Bruce, were always strong Progressives. The Progressives included those who believed that public services generally, such as the water supply, tramways, gas and electric lighting, should be operated by the popularly elected municipal body in the interest of all the citizens. The Moderate party, afterwards calling themselves "Unionists," "Conservatives," and, finally, "Municipal Reformers" (the latter title "caught on" at the last election), represented and were backed up by public-house and music-hall proprietors, the large ground landlords and vested interests generally, especially the liquor interest. That was the combination the Progressives had to fight.

In the first Council a temperance policy became prominent because in certain clearance areas and street improvements where licensed premises were acquired the question arose as to what was to be done with the licenses which existed and which had considerable commercial value. The old Metropolitan Board of Works, the predecessors of the County Council, had come into disrepute owing to its traffic in these public-house licenses. It was decided at the outset that no licensed property acquired for street improvement or other purposes should be allowed to continue. The licenses were therefore allowed to lapse, and no public-houses were permitted to be erected on those clearance areas. This policy has continued from the first up to the present time. The total number of licensed houses that have been got rid of in connection with these improvements amounts to over one hundred and sixty, and the cost of acquiring them to over three hundred thousand pounds. And in a hundred or more of acres which embrace the County Council's Model Dwelling areas no single public-house or saloon exists.

The health of London was one of the first considerations that the first Council had to consider. This was dealt with by an extensive improved system of main drainage. Large deep-level main sewers from the west, northwest, and southwest of London were carried eastward to points on the Thames outside the city limits. These underground sewers, like great dark rivers, convey several hundred millions of gallons of sewage per day to Barking and Crossness, there to be chemically treated at the outfalls, and the solid matter conveyed by a fleet of London County Council specially constructed "sludge steamers" fifty miles into the North Sea and discharged. This work of main drainage has entirely altered the character of the Thames, it being now a comparatively clear stream, whitebait and other fish now finding their way far up the river.

The clearance of slum areas and the rehousing of the people who were displaced through these clearances was another of the problems to be solved. Latest figures show that provision has already been made, or is in hand, for upwards of one hundred thousand people. Many of these formerly lived in districts where the death rate was as high as forty-five per thousand, and are now living in the Council's model dwellings under the improved conditions with a death rate of ten or twelve per thousand.

The Council was also impressed with the inadequacy of the open spaces and playgrounds for London's millions. The parks and open spaces of 1889 taken over by the new Council amounted to

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2,500 acres and numbered about fifty. In 1907, when the Progressives left office, these had been increased to 120, and the area was increased to over 5,000 acres. The provision of playing-fields for games—cricket, football, tennis, bowling, and other games, with swimming lakes and gymnasia for the boys and girls—was also made. Even piles of sand were brought from the seashore to the lakesides in the parks to delight the hearts of the children. Booths and bandstands for music were erected in all the parks, temperance refreshment at cheap prices was provided, and provision made in the playgrounds for dressing and undressing instead of utilizing the public-houses, as was formerly necessary. These places for healthy recreation are appropriately termed "the lungs of London." The fire brigade, which in the early days had been considered inefficient, was almost doubled in number, and the latest improved appliances supplied, so that to-day London can boast of one of the most up-to-date organizations for the preservation of life and property.

The tramway, or transit, question also became one of vital interest. It was felt that if the people of London were to be properly served, a complete system of tramway or street-car communication should be provided for the metropolis. It was decided by a small majority of the Council that the lines north of the Thames that first fell in for purchase in 1895 be leased to the company for fourteen years, the Moderates and Progressives in this year being returned in nearly equal numbers. The vote went in favor of leasing, instead of municipal working as advocated by the Progressives. This policy was, however, so unpopular that at the next election, when the Progressives were returned by a large majority and the southern lines fell in for purchase, it was decided not only to purchase but to work them municipally. These were horse trams. It was decided to electrify them; and so successful was the working on the south of the Thames that two or three years ago the Council decided, again by an overwhelming majority, to purchase the remaining four years of the unexpired lease of the company on the north side; and to-day the Council owns and operates all the surface tramways within the County Council limits. These amount to two hundred miles of single track, and carry over two hundred million passengers per annum. The tramways have already earned in profit over one million pounds sterling ($5,000,000). Three hundred thousand pounds, or $1,500,000, has been utilized in the reduction of the county rates, six hundred thousand pounds, or $3,000,000, in the reduction of the debt, and a reserve fund of nearly two hundred thousand pounds, or a million dollars, is in hand. This after paying interest on capital expended, maintaining the system in complete running order, and paying for all repairs and renewals out of current revenue. Nearly one-third of the passengers on the municipal trams pay one halfpenny (one cent) fares, the average fare over the whole of the Council's system being less than one penny per passenger. This compares with an average fare of three halfpence (1½ cents) charged by the largest tramway company operating outside the county. On the two hundred million passengers carried by the Council last year this saving would amount to over four hundred thousand pounds ($2,000,000), and it has enabled many thousands of families who had hitherto lived in insanitary and congested parts of the city to live in comfortable cottages at much cheaper rents in the suburbs. This is an enormous saving to the workers.

It is felt that, in connection with the municipal tram service, the first and most important duty is not that of simply earning a dividend. A municipality has a duty not only with the health but with the convenience and general amenities of its population; and in the case of the County Council some of the extensions and projected new lines of tramways are carried into districts that would not be considered profitable by a company, but which will be a great boon to many people and add to the comfort, health, and well-being of the inhabitants. If a comparison be made between the municipal trams in London and those working outside, it will be found, not only that the London fares are lower, but also that employees

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on a municipal tram have a six-day week (having one day's rest in seven), and ten hours per day as compared with an eleven and a half hour day on the part of a company's employee, who also works seven days a week or loses a day's pay. Furthermore, the Council is setting aside a sinking fund that will repay the capital expenditure of its tramways in twenty-five years, and also a reserve fund for future renewals, while on the part of some of the companies little or no provision is made for such necessities. The results that have already been shown by the Council's tram service cover the period of reconstructing from horse to electric traction (when it was not anticipated that a profit could be earned), and also the rentals received from the company in the north before the purchase of their lease by the London County Council.

The work of the Council goes into many details. For example, the Council insists that the milk supplied to London shall be of pure quality, the bread of proper weight, the gas up to standard test, and that such commodities sold to the people shall be of proper quality and weight. In the question of the coal supply alone nearly two hundred thousand pounds ($1,000,000) per annum is saved to the inhabitants through the efforts of coal inspectors. When the Council's work in this direction first began, the coal-sack, to hold its proper hundredweight, had to be increased in length about six inches, and coal cellars that formerly were supposed to hold two tons were found to hold only one and a half.

The combined work of street improvement, housing, supplying of parks and open spaces, and the distribution of the population by tramways, together with the more stringent enforcement of sanitary and health regulations, has contributed to the reduction of the death rate of London during the past eighteen years by over thirty per cent, in 1889 the death rate being about twenty-four per thousand, whereas to-day it has been reduced to fifteen, and London is now one of the healthiest cities in the world.

The County of London covers about 122 square miles, and contains a population of nearly 5,000,000. Inside that area are the twenty-nine boroughs with their mayors and borough councilors, also the ancient city of Westminster and the city and corporation of London, presided over by the Lord Mayor, who receives a salary of ten thousand pounds ($50,000) a year. The Chairman of the County Council, the superior body, and with duties ten times more onerous and important, gives his services free. The city administers a few of the parks, the Tower, London and Blackfriars bridges; the London County Council builds and maintains the other bridges. The "City of London" is the old original corporation, and has gone on unreformed.

Four years ago the responsibility of the education of the children of London was placed on the already heavily burdened shoulders of the County Council. It was unwillingly taken up, but it has been efficiently carried out, a large committee of the Council being appointed to carry out this work, with certain co-opted members to serve on the committee who are not members of the County Council; these include several women. This work was given to the County Council by the Education (London) Act of 1903. Previous to that time the school work had been carried on by a separately elected School Board. The percentage of the schools taken over may be said to be two-thirds Board schools and one-third Voluntary schools; all are now administered by the County Council. The number of schools is about two thousand; teachers, over twenty thousand; and scholars, in connection with the primary and secondary schools, a little short of one million.

Technical and secondary education has been fostered under the care of the County Council, and a large number of scholarships have been provided, so that children of the poorest families, if they have ability, are provided with free education, including a university course, and thus stand side by side with the children of the peer and the millionaire. Scholars from workingmen's homes have distinguished themselves and taken highest honors in some of the university examinations.

That the County Council had become

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very popular in London is undoubted, and the defeat of the Progressives at the recent election was no doubt a surprise to many. It is believed that fifty thousand pounds ($250,000) was spent in this election campaign by the vested interests and those who opposed the municipal work of the Progressives. The newspaper campaign on the part of the "yellow" press has been universally condemned, and was nothing less than disgraceful—an entirely new development in either municipal or imperial elections. The Daily Mail and the Daily Express were among the more prominent of these papers.

Rates had gone up during the past year. There was a great stringency in the money market, and opponents of the Council made misleading statements as to what the further requirements of the Progressives would mean. It is a fact, however, that the London County Council municipal rate had not risen more than one or two pence in the pound during the previous ten years, notwithstanding the great and growing services that the Council had performed, and the fact that the fire brigade, maintenance of parks and open spaces, main drainage, and many other services that had so greatly reduced London's death rate, were non-productive. The rise in rates was principally in connection with borough council expenditure over which the County Council had no direct control. The public, however, did not distinguish. The rates were up, the result of the extravagance and wastefulness of the South African War was being felt, and the Progressives of the County Council came in for their punishment.

London's debt had been stated and was shown on flaming posters to be one hundred and ten millions sterling; the real debt being not more than forty-five millions, and a large proportion of that being for remunerative and self-maintaining services, such as tramways, housing, etc. The debt per capita of London is less than half of that of either Paris or New York.

The work which has been done by the Progressives during the past eighteen years has made its mark on London, and will endure; of that there can be no doubt. There is every prospect that the Progressives, who have been responsible for the past policy, will again be returned to carry on their work, which, at the most, can suffer only a temporary check during the present three years' period.

THANKSGIVING

BY ALBERT FREDERICK WILSON

Yes, Lord, for summer's wealth of song and flowers,
For all the care-free vagrant hours;
For the vagabond friend and the gypsy fire,
For the long, long road of the heart's desire;

Yes, Lord, for the tattered coat and the weary way,
For the prodigal's hope and the prodigal's pay;
For the trust and the love and the pain you gave,
For the hill-land home and the hill-land grave.

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THE PEOPLE VS. THE REPRESENTATIVE

BY MERWIN K. HART

Member of the New York State Assembly

ON Wednesday, June 5, just before the close of the prolonged legislative session, William Jennings Bryan visited the New York State Assembly and was invited to address that body. In the course of his remarks, occupying nearly an hour, he used these words:

"In the presence of a legislative body the question that seems paramount to me is the duty of the legislator—the duty of the representative. There are two theories, and these theories will be found wherever representative government exists. One is that the representative is selected by the people to think for the people. The other theory is that the representative is selected by the people to give legislative expression to their thoughts and their will. Now, these are the two theories, and much depends upon which theory the legislator accepts.

"The legislator who thinks he is chosen to think for his people may flatter his vanity, but he is apt to be indifferent to the wishes of those for whom he speaks. The one who believes that the people think for themselves and select him to give expression to their thoughts is apt to have a more modest opinion of himself but a greater respect for those for whom he acts. And I hope you will pardon me if I give adhesion to the latter theory, and express it as my firm conviction that the duty of the representative is to represent. I believe that this theory is not only Democratic in a partisan sense, but democratic in a broader sense. It is not only the theory Jefferson entertained, but it is the theory which is entertained in this country to-day by a large majority of the people, irrespective of party affiliation."

Governor Hughes, in his Jamestown address, after speaking of abuses against which democracy has to struggle, said:

"To guard against these abuses and put an end to them where they exist, the people must be constantly alert. Faithful representation of the people is of the essence of the matter. Democracy upon a large scale would inevitably fail were not the people able to act through their chosen representatives. It is only upon simple and broad propositions of policy that the people can act directly. It is difficult to procure a complete understanding, even by those charged with its consideration, of any complicated measure.

"We have a Republic only in name, if those chosen to represent the people serve other interests. In their insistence upon single-mindedness in the public service the people will have no compromise. They demand a greater voice in the selection of candidates for office. They insist that those whom they choose shall recognize their representative responsibility. We have had too many men posing as the people's choice, who were simply the representatives of particular business interests or the appointees of a particular leader, put in office to do his bidding."

Here are two statements on the same subject from men of widely different ideas. The former is that of a man known chiefly by what he has said he would do if the people were to place him in office; known hardly at all by anything that he has actually done. The latter is that of one whose reputation as a constructive statesman is nearly as well known in the remote parts of the country as in his own Eastern State. Mr. Hughes pithily says: "Faithful representation of the people is of the essence of the matter."

What is "faithful representation"? Mr. Bryan's wholly theoretical declarations are based upon the supposition that the constituents of any man elected to a legislature are constantly and carefully studying all questions that come up, and are ready, nay anxious, at all times to direct the representative how he shall vote. He tries to make us believe that

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a reliable if not an exact opinion on each question may be obtained by the representative when he appears, hat in hand, as it were, for his instructions.

He contributes nothing substantial to the solution of our problem. In the first place, the people are indifferent, tremendously indifferent, on all except the largest and most important questions of policy. And the difficulty of overcoming this is complicated by a very common belief among these people that they have no time to be other than indifferent. Besides, there is still seen an aloofness from participation in public questions excepting to the extent of idle and unintelligent criticism—an attitude harmful to the self-satisfied holder of the opinion, and to the masses of the people. A citizen of one of the larger up-State cities of New York was asked one day last spring to write his representative in the State Legislature to support a certain bill. He was obliged first to ask the name of the representative. A newspaper editor in another city challenged his companion at luncheon recently to name twenty men in Congress. He got up to fourteen, stopped, and then in revenge bet the editor he couldn't name ten more. And the editor couldn't. It is probably a fact that in a large majority of the assembly districts in the State of New York at the present day not five per cent of the voters know, or ever noticed, how their representative voted on any bill in the last legislative session, unless the bill were a purely local measure.

An illustration of this came to my notice last July—just after the New York State Legislature had adjourned without passing a direct primary bill. Many of the newspapers favored this bill so strongly as to give the impression to the too trusting reader that if enacted the law would be a veritable panacea. One newspaper in a county which has three members published a leading editorial on the attitude of these members towards the bill. One member had voted for it, the second had voted against it, and the third had "ducked." This particular journal denounced the man who had opposed it, and, after dwelling upon his unfitness for office as shown by his action, closed by declaring that nine-tenths of his constituents favored this bill.

I happened a few days later to meet this member. One of the most prominent men of the district joined us as we talked, and the conversation turned to the editorial. The third person—probably among the twenty most intelligent men of the district—said, after listening, that he not only had not noticed how his representative had voted, but had not heard the matter once mentioned by his neighbors.

Not only is this indifference widespread, but, even in a community where there is considerable interest in any bill or resolution, it is almost impossible, excepting on the occasional very important issue, to find out what the people really want. Newspaper agitation may mean a great deal, or it may mean merely the influence of a business interest. The old custom of circulating a petition long ago became so overdone that a petition of thousands of names may mean very little.

Last winter a bill affecting a county with several representatives was passed by the New York State Senate and came over to the lower house. The members from that county seemed anxious to reach some agreement, but two or three constituents of one of them opposed it so strongly that the House got the impression that widespread opposition had arisen at home. One or two of the members from the county in question seemed to recognize that a failure to reach an agreement would mean added expense to the county, by reason of the consequent postponement of the completion of a public improvement that was involved, and made strenuous efforts to secure harmony. The day the bill came up for final passage, one of the members who opposed it exhibited a petition addressed to the Governor and Legislature, and signed by over one hundred members of town boards. This petition declared that the people of the county were strongly opposed to this bill. At this the member who was working for the bill explained that the petition had been previously shown him, and that he had written twelve signers, frankly giving

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them his views on the subject, and asking them to tell him as frankly what course they considered he should take. He had had but three replies. One had mildly objected to the bill; the second had told him to do what he thought best; the third had agreed with him heartily, and urged him to pass the bill. The evidence threw considerable light upon the value of the petition, and the bill passed.

Mr. Bryan really advocates weakness and inefficiency. His statements spell an ignorance of practical conditions that is surprising. If he sought an explanation of why legislatures have not made better laws, and an enunciation of the principle which must be followed if wiser laws are to be enacted in the future, he flew wide the mark.

Then, too, Mr. Bryan adopts that curious attitude—which some newspapers have been known to adopt—of forgetting that the representative is in all probability in sympathy, if not in close touch, with his constituency. He seems to assume that a representative is no sooner elected to office than he begins to plot how he may ignore the people's wishes. The election of a representative means, in nine cases out of ten, that there is a pretty close understanding between that man and the people. And the continuance of that good understanding, any break in which is likely to remove him from office at the next election, means that the representative is compelled to keep an ear to the ground, and has opportunities afforded no one else to gauge public opinion. So many questions come up in a single legislative session, there is such general indifference toward most of these questions, that even his ideas of how his people would have him act are, in most cases, extremely vague; though, if the issue be a large one, and public opinion pronounced, he is likely to be only too willing to waive personal opinions (if he has any) and follow what seems to him a popular dictate.

In other words, the practical working out of the relation between representative and people is like that in the case of a manager of a business and the owner. If the manager is worthy of the place he holds, he will have free hand in the conduct of all ordinary matters, and very likely will be the strongest influence in shaping the policy of the business. The owner will refrain from satisfying any passing desire he may have to show his authority (which, undoubtedly, he may make paramount), in the knowledge that all is being well done. And that this is a wise course is plain, for the owner may then give his entire time to other affairs. The owner of such a business may be one person, for the purpose of our illustration, or there may be several persons, or perhaps a good many. The more there are, the less desirable is it that there should be needless interference from any of them, so long as the business is wisely conducted; though, of course, once a year, or at some other stated period, the stockholders will demand opportunity to pass upon the work done, and, by reappointing or dismissing the manager, register their approval or dissatisfaction. In this simple exercise of their absolute power the stockholders of the modern business corporation secure best results. And so it can be and should be in regard to public office. The analogy is closer than might at first seem. We have every reason to suppose that if the people at the polls have selected as their representative the best man that they can find to take the place, they may well trust his judgment on whatever questions come up for him to decide. Practical considerations forbid their constantly proffering advice and insisting upon its being followed. They will have opportunity at the next election to tell him whether he has done well or not.

Governor Hughes, in his Jamestown speech, showed an appreciation of the real trouble. Mr. Bryan would have the legislator give heed to advice from without, and carefully refrain from using his own brain. And as it is impossible on most questions to gauge public opinion, the legislator, in following Mr. Bryan's direction, would be very likely to be following the dictates of that private business interest or political leader that had most influence over him. Mr. Hughes well points out that he who heeds advice from such source is not a faithful representative of the people. In saying that

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it is only upon simple and broad propositions of policy that the people can act directly, he shows that that representative most truly represents who treats every question in the light of the greatest good to the greatest number of people. In other words, the greatest good will result when the representative brings to the solution of the problems before him the greatest care and foresight and ability that he can muster. In so doing he is recognizing his "representative responsibility."

A study of the qualities exhibited by Mr. Hughes, and the methods he has employed as Governor of New York, suggests strongly the right manner of the solution of this question of the legislator's duties. It is not a complicated matter. During the last few years it has become more and more evident that simple principles of honesty, straightforwardness, directness, and industry are as applicable in carrying on public business as private business; just as it has lately come to be recognized (a revelation to some nations) that diplomacy does not necessarily have indirection and deception as its component parts. We have often observed the curious phenomenon of the people supporting an executive whom they have clothed with almost dictatorial powers, as against a legislature considered corrupt. In these cases the people have seen the necessity for a strong executive. They have seen the chaos that results from a division of responsibility. Both executive and legislators in the above cases were selected by the same people. They were equally representative; and yet the man who molded public opinion, the strong executive who planned a vigorous and dashing campaign against an inefficient council or legislature, was the more popular. And the reason was that the people were tired of inefficiency and petty politics in that council or State legislature, and demanded action.

That was one step. And throughout the country we have become quite accustomed to it. We are beginning to understand that a strong executive is consistent with true democracy. Now we demand strong legislatures. We are Americans and practical, and we have no fear of a strong man, either as executive or legislator, acting honestly in broad daylight, and taking us often into his confidence as he proceeds.

The people demand good law-making, and just enforcement of the laws. Such enforcement we find we can have; perhaps it has preceded good law-making because it is necessary only to elect a single official—the executive himself. The greater question to-day is the question of *making* laws. To secure the improvement in the legislative end of our Government which we have at least begun to achieve in the executive, we are obliged to elect not merely one efficient man but enough efficient men to constitute a majority in the legislature.

This is the next step. Its attainment should not be far off. We have seen the immense amount of good accomplished by a few executives. Of course this has been done in part through the assistance of the legislative body, though this fact has been overlooked by press and people, because the executive has gained the confidence of the people while the legislative body has been perchance for a long time thoroughly discredited, and its return to full confidence is with difficulty accomplished.

As the situation stands to-day, the people are demanding the same efficiency in State and city legislatures that some executives have shown. There is call for serious thought and effort by the American people who have to solve this question. Mr. Bryan's theoretical generalities are so useless, when we come to practice, as to be most safely disposed of when ignored. We turn with relief to a consideration of Mr. Hughes's record the first year of his Governorship. We see his industry, his close attention to his duties and to nothing else, his intelligent and statesmanlike handling of each and every question. We note, too, the interest displayed by people of all sections and all classes, and the approval of, or at least the respectful acquiescence in, his every action. The people did not elect him to spend all his time trying to find out how they want him to do his own work. They thought he would be a good man to do the work according to his own ideas, and do it well.

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STORIES FROM A LABORATORY

BY ALBERT R. LEDOUX

THE business of a chemical laboratory is not all uninteresting routine. The assayer is consulted about all manner of things by all kinds of people; has often most interesting investigations on hand, and frequently finds himself in court, where his technical knowledge is of assistance to judge and jury, and where he sees the play of business comedies and tragedies.

To-day our opinion is asked as to the best method of satisfying two shippers (and the buyer), whose consignments of ore were accidentally mixed together in one bin before they were sampled. Yesterday it was a question how fairly to settle a claim against a railway which had placed a car-load of rich silver ore, temporarily, upon its rubbish track, with several car-loads of cinders from the roundhouse; cinders and ore having been subsequently hauled away and dumped together to fill a bad piece of track across the Jersey meadows. To-morrow it may be we shall be asked to test the samples of sealing-wax offered in competition to an express company, to determine which will make the greatest number of seals per pound of wax. (One express company spends over $10,000 yearly for sealing-wax.) The following instances have served to relieve the monotony of the day's work:

Some years ago we were requested to examine a sample of molasses, and state whether it was made in Barbadoes. I told the merchants that I doubted if it were possible to tell by analysis. They said that there must be some special, distinguishing characteristic, for the following reason: They had received an order from Newfoundland for a certain number of barrels of pure Barbadoes, and had passed it on to a reputable firm, who delivered the goods under guarantee that the molasses was in accordance with specifications. The Newfoundland buyers all rejected it.

After careful inquiry, I found that the fishermen and other humble folk of Newfoundland use molasses instead of sugar to sweeten their tea; that some molasses turned the tea black, whereas pure Barbadoes molasses did not. I inferred at once that the goods must contain iron, which, uniting with the tannin of the tea, made an ink. On testing the sample, we found iron present, whereas a sample of pure Barbadoes, which we had obtained, contained no iron. Upon pressing the sellers of this shipment, they admitted that they had put a little New Orleans molasses into each barrel of Barbadoes—although it cost more—because it really produced a better flavor, and they were anxious to please their customer. The Barbadoes product was probably made by a different process—perhaps not employing iron pans for the evaporation of the cane juice. At any rate, Barbadoes molasses did not blacken tea; New Orleans did.

Many instances could be given of attempted and successful swindles, of which our laboratory has had cognizance. A physician, practicing in an important city in this State, brought us a quantity of metal borings, resembling gold, and asked us to ascertain how fine this gold was, and to calculate for him the value of the bar from which these borings were taken, assuming it to be so many inches long, wide, and thick. The borings proved to be fine gold, and I told him that such a bar was worth four thousand dollars. He could not repress his excitement, and told me that a miner from the West had offered to sell him this bar for a thousand dollars, saying that it was all he had left of his savings, and that he must realize upon it at once. The doctor, at the suggestion of the miner, had come to New York, had taken the bar to a machine shop, where holes were drilled in it in such a way as to get a fair sample, and it was the borings from these which we had assayed. I advised the doctor to be very careful, that it sounded like a variation of the common "gold brick" swindle; and I added that it was always suspicious when a man wanted to sell anything for a frac-

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tion of its real value. An hour or two later the doctor returned and took out a bar of metal from his valise, saying, "Here is the bar which I have purchased. Tell me how to go to work to sell it at the mint or elsewhere for its full value." The bar was of the dimensions he had stated, and was perforated with drill holes. I suggested testing the bar. Upon boring other holes in it and filing portions from its edges, we obtained a sample which proved to be nothing but brass. The doctor returned to the machine shop and ascertained that after the first bar was drilled, and while he was getting the sample assayed, the honest miner had produced another bar of the same size and had had it drilled precisely on the same pattern. He had no trouble in handing this one to the doctor upon his return, and had disappeared with his money.

While on the subject of frauds exposed by assayers, it might be well to mention one or two of the innumerable ways in which ores are "salted." Not only will the vendors of a mining property sometimes cart rich ore from other mines and add them to their dump, that they may be included in the sample of the purchaser; not only have they strewn placer grounds with gold dust from other places, and even planted diamonds and precious stones in California desert sands, to be found by the credulous, but, when permitted access to the laboratory where the determining assays are made, they have devised ingenious methods of enriching the sample. A man was once caught expectorating tobacco juice into the crucible. He said he was spitting into the fire rather than upon the floor, but a stalwart assayer, who suspected him, held him up against the wall and extracted his quid of tobacco, which was filled with gold dust.

Others have had little bags of gold dust inside of their coat-sleeve, and, when the sample was being ground or handled, would stir it or touch it with the finger, opening at the same time the mouth of the bag, which allowed the gold dust to drop. Even when the bags are sealed means have been found to insert particles of gold; for instance, by taking a quill toothpick and introducing it between the strands of the canvas, and pouring gold dust through it.

One of our engineers took the precaution to draw duplicate samples from a silver mine. One lot he brought locked in his own trunk and the other he sealed securely in bags and sent by express. The former, upon assay, contained about half as much silver as the latter. The seals were unbroken upon arrival, but upon turning the bags inside out, their interior was found to be stained black with nitrate of silver. The swindlers had inserted the point of a syringe between the mesh, and had squirted the sample full of a strong solution of nitrate of silver, which dried in transit, and thus enriched the ore to which it adhered.

Sometimes it is impossible to detect the swindle, although you have reason to believe that it has been perpetrated. A former partner of mine was once asked to investigate one of the many processes which purport to be able to get gold out of certain rocks where it is not supposed to be, usually upon the theory that gold exists in some volatile form and is dissipated by the ordinary process of fire assay. It was insisted upon that the owner of the process should give a description of it in advance, and also a sample of the rock upon which he desired to try it. The assayer went through the process most carefully, following the written instructions, and found no gold at all. Later on the inventor went through the identical process, in the presence of the assayer, using the same chemicals upon the same ore, and produced a large button of gold. He paid his fee, and requested that the certificate be sent to his hotel. The certificate which he received stated that the process had been tried twice—once in the presence of the inventor and once when he was absent. When he was absent, no gold was found; when he was present, it was found to the extent of so many ounces to the ton. The inventor never came back or complained.

I once examined a mine in which the white quartz of the vein in a tunnel showed adhering particles of gold, and looked extraordinarily rich. Blasting out a few inches of the vein, the gold disappeared. It was afterwards ascer-

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tained that the vendor had loaded a shotgun with pellets of gold and had fired against the vein exposed in the tunnel, causing the gold to adhere by the force of the impact.

And here is the story of "Gabriel's Sword." Some years ago there appeared in the New York Herald and in the Kingston Freeman a statement of a remarkable discovery back of Kingston, New York. As I recollect the tale, two men, who were riding late, were startled by a bright illumination in the sky, and saw what appeared to be a meteor fall, with a hissing sound, into a pond near the road. The next day they went to the pond and saw, sticking out of the water not far from the edge, the handle of a gigantic sword. They extracted it from the mud with some difficulty, finding a weapon crudely forged and covered with rust, in the shape of a Highland claymore or other two-handed sword. The blade was about four feet long, about two inches wide, double edged, and the guard was a solid piece of metal, apparently forged out of the same bar or rod as the handle and blade, and not inserted. The newspaper articles further stated that upon cleaning off the rust from one side, strange hieroglyphics and figures of men and animals, like the drawings of prehistoric men, were discovered.

A few weeks later an old man came into our office with a box upon his shoulder, and, upon unpacking it, produced the celestial sword. The description had been accurately given in the newspapers; the hieroglyphics, which resembled Arabic or some other Oriental lettering, were plainly to be seen, where the rust had been removed, as were the pictures of men and beasts. On rubbing my thumb across the lettering, I could feel a sharp edge to the marks, which one would not have expected if the marking had been very old, or had been subjected to very active rusting. The man handed me a circular, showing that he was exhibiting this sword, charging ten cents admission. He said that he had made a good deal of money out of it, but that some people were unchartable enough to intimate that the sword was not of supernatural origin. He had been a blacksmith and knew something about metals, had tested the weapon, and had become convinced that it was not made of common iron or steel, as one would imagine from the ring, the rust, and other characteristics, but was an alloy containing a large proportion of silver. He asked the direct question if there was any alloy of iron and silver that would have the hardness, temper, cutting properties, ring, and other qualities of this sword. I told him that there was no known alloy of iron and silver having such properties. This pleased him, and he said that then he could convince me of its supernatural origin, and asked if we would cut off a piece and assay it, and, if we found any silver in the metal, give him a certificate to that effect. The question arose how to take a sample without destroying some part of the sword. I suspected a swindle, and assumed that the man would probably try to file off portions from the surface of the blade or elsewhere, which perhaps had been previously coated with nitrate of silver or some other silver compound, or silver plated. Instead of that he suggested filing off one end of the solid cross-bar or guard, calling attention to the fact that it was undoubtedly forged out of the same piece as the blade and had the same characteristics in every respect. He filed a cube of metal from one end of the bar. The cut showed a homogeneous condition, and the clean surface looked in every respect like mild steel. It was just a cube of rusted iron or steel, five sides being dark with rust, and the sixth side bright where the file had cut through. I sent the metal to the laboratory, with instructions to weigh it and put it all in a crucible, and to report the amount of silver present—if any. The assayer, fearing that if an accident happened to the crucible the charge would be lost, put the cube on an anvil and cut it in two with a cold chisel, expecting to make a duplicate assay. On cutting the metal through, a pea of silver, perhaps one-third the weight of the cube, was found in the center. Some one had drilled a large hole through the end of the guard and had plugged it up with portions of pure silver driven in, and then had concealed the hole entirely by coating with iron rust, mixed with some gum or

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shellac, so that there was no external evidence of the job. We showed the man the silver, and, of course, he went away without a certificate.

Sometimes our business brings to light not only fraud, but pathos and even tragedy. I remember receiving, many years ago, a call from a closely veiled lady, accompanied by her maid. She showed every evidence of refinement in voice and in manner. She asked if I could be consulted confidentially like a physician or a lawyer. She stated that she was happily married; that her husband had been everything to her that she could wish, but that for six months she had been out of health and her physician had prescribed, among other things, a certain kind of wine. At first she had bought it herself, but once her husband had brought it home. She had noticed that when she took any of the wine from the bottle which he brought, she was made violently ill. She thought there must be something wrong with that particular bottle, discarded it, and bought some more herself. This did not affect her in any way, but again, when she attempted to take the contents of a second bottle, which her husband bought, she had the same acute symptoms. She requested me to analyze a portion of this second bottle, and stated that she would come back in a week for the certificate. We made a most careful analysis of the wine, only to find it of excellent quality, entirely free from any deleterious foreign substances, and surely non-poisonous. In fact, several of our employees tried it without the slightest ill effect. I have never seen a more thankful person than was this lady when she received the certificate. She took most kindly and humbly my statement that her suspicion was doubtless due entirely to her imagination, or to some temporary condition of her system, which caused the wine to disagree with her at that particular time. Both husband and wife have been many years dead. They were not residents of New York City.

SOME CONDITIONS IN CHINA

BY BAILEY WILLIS

The following article is based in part on the writer's acquaintance with the Chinese, with whom he came into touch during a journey, which was made largely on foot, among the cities, villages, and mountain hamlets of northern and central China, and in part on several conversations with Sir Chen-tung Liang-Cheng, the Chinese Minister to Washington. The writer alone is responsible for the views expressed.—THE EDITORS.

THE promise of constitutional government for China is attributed to the members of that Imperial Commission which was recently sent abroad to study Western Governments and institutions. It also has the united support of the Ministers from China to England, France, Germany, and the United States, who are familiar with the Governments of those countries through observation, and in some cases through education; and those who hope that the promise may in due time be realized may congratulate themselves that the weighty influence of the most enlightened statesmen of China is thus expressed. The movement has not stopped with the proclamation of an intention to be fulfilled when the people shall be ready for it. We are told that an Imperial Commission, composed of representatives of the royal family and of the principal viceroys, as well as of other high officials, is even now engaged in studying the problem of modernizing China's ancient forms of government, and of preparing the people to take their part in a new régime. It is conceded that the Chinese are not ready. It is, perhaps, a too sanguine hope that they may become ready in less than a generation; but they are to be educated toward readiness.

In order to arrive at an understanding of the problem which confronts the Emperor and his advisers in proposing to establish a constitutional government,

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it is necessary to consider the two powers which, for several thousand years, have governed side by side throughout China: the one imperial and general, the other popular, local, and intimate—the former that of the dynasty, the latter that of the village elders.

Imperial rule in China has for the last two thousand years rested upon military conquest. Dynasty has succeeded dynasty, in every case strictly in accordance with the rule that to the victor belong the spoils. Yet, through the perpetuation of established custom, the path of official preferment has been open to every man in China who demonstrated his ability. Through the system of graded examinations, of which some are held annually and others every three years, it has for centuries been possible for any young man to place himself among the competitors for the distinction of being the Han-ling—the first scholar of the Empire, one whose literary achievement sheds luster alike upon his ancestry and posterity. In the multitude who never reach this pre-eminent distinction there are, nevertheless, many who pass the third of the many degrees, and thus attain the classical learning which, until recently, has been the chief preparation of an expectant official. In every province there are many hundred such persons, who, having turned their steps toward an official career, await such appointment as they may eventually obtain through the various methods not unknown in other countries that pride themselves on their enlightenment. Within a year the system has been revolutionized by an edict which prescribes a certain knowledge of Western learning as a practical requirement for official position. Although provision is made to give older men a chance to acquire a smattering, a premium is placed on the services of young men who have studied abroad.

Entering upon official life as a magistrate in charge of a district which may have a population of a hundred thousand souls, an officer may be promoted through successive grades to the most important offices in the provincial government; or, on attaining sufficient standing in the classics, he may enter the imperial civil service, and rise to distinction in the central government. In America, as in many other countries in which public opinion is effective, official life begins in the community where a man is known, and the rise to larger responsibilities is accomplished by the backing of the people of his native county or State; but in China the rule has, for good reasons, long been otherwise. A man is never appointed magistrate in the province in which he was born, and he is never allowed to remain long enough in any district to become familiar with the people whom he rules. If you inquire concerning the principles underlying this policy, you are informed that it is to promote impartiality. Said an eminent official: "If I governed the village in which my friends and relatives lived, I would certainly take good care of them." But it is probable that the system had its origin in a more fundamental need of imperial rule. When, some two hundred and odd years before Christ, the great Emperor Ch'ing destroyed the feudal system in China, he was confronted by the problem of maintaining imperial control over a vast domain in which communication was slow and difficult. We have but to remember that it was argued in the Congress of the United States that it would be impossible to govern Oregon from Washington, to realize with what ability the Chinese Emperor solved a similar problem. He established the negation of home rule and the frequent transfer of officials from post to post as fundamental principles of policy, and the imperial power has thus been maintained in spite of repeated changes of dynasty and prolonged rebellions.

The effect of this policy is to separate the governing class absolutely from the governed. The officials are from the people and not of the people, and government by the people is limited to local village affairs, except in so far as the determined protest of an influential community may sometimes avail against gross injustice. Composed of scholars especially learned in the philosophy of the ancient classics, the official class has been a conservative body set over the people to govern them according to

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rigid precept and rule. So strong is sectional feeling and so unlike are the local dialects that a man may be appointed magistrate over a district where he is not only a stranger, but almost a foreigner. His salary being utterly insufficient, he is expected to divert a share of the revenues to his private purse. He may also legitimately squeeze unfortunates whom circumstances place within his grasp, and the squeeze must be considerable to be illegitimate. Yet there are magistracies which are so poor that the magistrate can barely eke out a living for himself and his dependent relatives, and it is therefore important that a man who has endured a term in such a position should be promoted to one where he may replenish his purse. A Tao-tai whose youth and prominence gave promise of a distinguished career, on my asking if the Empress might not establish tenure of office during good behavior, replied that it would be impossible. "For," said he, "the man who has the lean job could not live, and the man with the fat job would get too rich." He referred to a condition which, it is to be hoped, is passing away, and is to be replaced by one that will not put a premium on the spoils system. It is to the honor of Chinese character that there are good magistrates, and there have been times under China's great rulers when the government was far better than the system. But the imperial power remains foreign and external even in the person of the local magistrate, who, of its many representatives, is in closest touch with the people.

We may compare the official class in China to a sheet of ice, which is formed from the waters beneath and is supported by them, but floats in rigid fixity above the strong current in the depths.

It is otherwise with the local village government. The authority of the local arbitrator is vested in the village elders, who, so far as possible, settle all matters of dispute without recourse to the magistrate placed over the district by the Government at Peking. There is, perhaps, nothing the average Chinaman dreads more than to come into the hands of that magistrate, and the control exercised by the elders is, no doubt, stronger for that reason. But their influence has a still firmer support in family ties. A Chinese village may be described as a group of clans, each clan being a family, which, if small, counts but three or four hundred male members, or, if large, may number one or two thousand. In village affairs a clan is commonly a unit, and is more or less influential according to its members, wealth, and learning. The village elders usually represent the strongest clan or clans, and are thus the men who command the most numerous and, it may often be, the best following. They not only act in affairs of their own home village, but on occasion one may be chosen as a member of a board of three to adjudicate a question of property or other matter so serious that the purely local officers cannot determine it. They have, in such a case, no power to enforce their decision, which may be appealed from to the magistrate. In the discharge of their duties the village elders are governed by custom and by that regard for public reputation, called face, which is one of the strongest influences of Chinese character.

This moiety of self-government is enjoyed by each one of the many thousands of villages in which by far the larger part of the population of China lives, and each is to that extent an independent and self-centered community. When we realize that these villages are many of them from one to several thousand years old, that there are families still living in them whose ancestors were among the founders, and that the ancestral burying-place is the shrine at which the Chinese worships, we may conceive what a center of tradition, custom, and conservatism each community has become. The average life of a dynasty of the Empire of China has been but two hundred and fifty years—a brief span indeed as compared with that of these old village councils. The magistrate who is set over them is a man from another section of the country, and holds office for but a few months or a year or two. He remains a stranger, no matter how wise and good his rule may be, whereas the village elder is one who is himself intimately known and whose forefathers

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have been known since the earliest days.

Throughout the plains of central and eastern China the great majority of the people live in villages. Although the cities are densely crowded and seem to swarm with Chinese, the urban population is probably but a relatively small percentage of the whole. The traveler is never out of sight of the clumps of trees which grow in the compounds but are almost entirely lacking outside of them in northern China, and he can usually see half a dozen or more of the high mud walls which, surrounding the entire group of houses, afford protection not only against the occasional dangers of times of disturbance, but also against the ever-possible attacks of evil spirits. The gateway to such a wall is guarded by a devil screen so placed that a direct entrance is impossible, and a devil, therefore, cannot enter it, because he is too stupid to turn a corner.

In these villages, where the elders constitute an independent council charged with the adjustment of local affairs, the leading men of China are born and nurtured, and through the ties of filial piety and ancestor worship they are bound to their place of birth throughout life, no matter to what distinction or responsibility they may rise. When a father or mother dies, the son, even though he be a viceroy, must live in retirement during the long period of mourning. He commonly goes back to his native village, where he takes his place among those who were the associates of his boyhood, and, if he be a man of standing, may exchange the duties of a high official of the Empire for those of a village elder.

It seems evident that the seed of broader self-government is in these village councils. A promise of growth lies in establishing an organic relation between them and the local magistrate, the representative of imperial power. We may consider the people of each magistracy as a political unit, divided into villages or groups of villages, which shall elect a certain number of village elders to form a magistrate's council. The absolute authority now enjoyed by the magistrate with reference to taxation, local laws, rights of person and property, may be qualified by appropriate allotment of powers to the magistrate and the council. Whether the magistrate should be elected or appointed would be a crucial question, but in any case the practice of selecting a perfect stranger, the inadequacy of salary, and the uncertain tenure of office must give place to wiser, juster conditions. Above both council and magistrate must needs be placed a higher court, which should adjudicate disputes. A code of laws, based on recognized precept and established custom, is required.

Thus a first step toward constitutional government might be taken among the people, with reference to their local affairs. It may be called revo'·tionary, as indeed it would be, but how much more so would be the promulgation of a constitution and the assembling of a parliament or even a reichstag! With Russia's example before her, China should seek to grow her constitutional government from its root in village councils, rather than to establish it by fiat.

Although the old system is shaken and the ideas of modern progress may, in time, become a current strong enough to break the ice of official rule which chills the life of the people, no one can to-day foresee even the immediate outcome. Intensely antagonistic forces are active. The classic scholarship of the Empire is still arrayed with the great majority of officials in an attitude of conservatism, from which it yields only under necessity and with protest. A magistrate with whom I had passed several evenings in conversation concerning the elements of Western learning said at last: "You foreigners have many strange and interesting things to show us, but you cannot change our customs. They are immutable." Nevertheless, that same magistrate had sent his son twelve hundred miles to study English, because he thought it would be useful to him in a business or official career, and, with his scanty knowledge of the tongue, the young man had begun to grasp ideas of which his father had no inkling—ideas that undermine the foundations of Chinese character.

The old man has long been the ruling

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force in China; the young man has now to be reckoned with. The imperial edict which makes a knowledge of Western learning a requirement for official career has revolutionized the opportunities of youth, and bars the path of promotion to those who are too old to learn. To meet the requirements, the most ambitious and ablest young Chinese now study abroad in Japan or elsewhere, and, returning with elementary knowledge and immature judgment, they find themselves face to face with an intolerable situation upheld by the conservatism of their fathers. Where filial piety has been one of the highest attributes of character, the son is set over against the father as one who has acquired the new learning and is preferred by imperial authority for offices of responsibility. It is no wonder that China is in a state of unrest. Throughout cities and villages there is division of opinion among the intelligent, and there is community of superstition among the unintelligent. A few officials are well informed; even the most learned among the people are ill informed; and the vast majority, being not informed at all, are ready to believe any rumor, however incredible.

The power which rules this people, at a time when new forces are developing among them as perhaps never before in their long history, rests in the hands of a clever and masterful woman and a practical and progressive man. Whatever one may think of the personal character of the Empress Dowager, one must grant that she has met the crises of the past few years with ingenuity and decision. The world may never know, but it can scarcely overestimate, the difficulties of her position. Yuan-Chi-Kai, a man not yet past middle age, has risen by virtue of his ability to be her chief counselor. Though schooled in classical learning, he has common sense as we understand it. By organizing and drilling an effective army of more than eighty thousand men, he has proved his military talent. As Governor of Shantung in 1900, he put down the Boxer rebellion in that province and saved all the missionaries except one. Promoted to be Viceroy of Chili and Shantung, he used his great influence to keep China neutral during the Russo-Japanese War. And now, as Viceroy over seven provinces, he holds a position attained only once before, I am told, during Chinese history. "Though still young, a greater man than old Li-Hung-Chang," they say, with profound respect.

The activity which Yuan-Chi-Kai has shown in organizing a powerful military force and diverting a large proportion of the imperial revenue to that end has given rise in Europe, and in this country also, to much unreasonable fear of the "Yellow Peril." But what government could hope to reorganize a nation if it had not the power to put down rebellion? The Chinese have ever been prone to secret organization, and rebellions against the imperial power have been frequent throughout the history of the country. With the forces of youth and age, of radicalism and conservatism, of growth and decay, seething and struggling for mastery among three hundred million people, distributed over an area of four million square miles, the hope of the future lies in the wisdom and power of the Empress and the great Viceroy.

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THOMAS NELSON PAGE: TWO RECENT BOOKS[1]

MR. Page is an idealist in prose and in verse, as the greater American writers have been since those early days when Freneau wrote "Eutaw Springs" and the "Indian Burying Ground." He has the American temperament and the American point of view; he believes instinctively in the best things, and he has the courage of a great hope. A Virginian of the Virginians, he has been the secretary and recorder of a form of social life which had the charm of lavish hospitality, of gracious manners, of a generous habit of life, and of a keen sense of personal dignity. Of that old order there are no more charming reports than "Meh' Lady" and "Mars Chan," nor are these unaffected and deeply human interpretations of a vanished social order likely to be surpassed in the future. They give one that sense of finality which comes only from those things which are so adequately done that the imagination rests content in them. Mr. Page has written other stories which show the same qualities of insight, sympathy, humor, pathos, easy command of the resources of the short story, but these tales which have become American classics may stand as representative of the finest portraiture of the old-time Virginia gentlefolk and of the relations they held with their family slaves.

The charm of that society lay largely in the absence of the commercial spirit, the emphasis on the arts of social intercourse, the chivalrous feeling for women. It was provincial in interest, content with its own standards, proud of its descent, and somewhat given to self-assertion; but it was brave, generous, gallant, and it did not count the cost when friends or convictions were at stake. No one has realized so clearly in art the latent idealism of this society, touched with a more delicate hand its finer qualities, or entered more sympathetically into its humor than Mr. Page; to the end of the story he will be one of the chief interpreters and recorders of the Old South.

He has not been content, however, to paint the portraits of the men and women of a past generation; he has given us the most carefully considered study in fiction of the reconstruction period which has come from a Southern hand. If "Red Rock" lacks something of the indefinable charm of the earlier stories, it is largely because the writer is dealing with a group of people and a range of motives divided by fierce passions and standing to one another in relations of contrast rather than of similarity. The story has great value as a human document, not only because it is a close study of a tragic stage in Southern history, but because it is conspicuously fair in spirit. Some of the facts it presents admit of a different interpretation, but of its restraint of feeling and its evident endeavor to be just as well as effective in dramatic presentation there can be no doubt. It was one of the first and it remains one of the most convincing records of the disastrous effort "to build a bridge of wood over a river of fire." The note of "Red Rock" is indignation against the kind of injustice which not only inflicts material injury but stings and humiliates, and the story makes clear many things about the Southern attitude after the Civil War of which formal histories offer no adequate explanation.

In his later work Mr. Page has made his readers feel in different ways the vigor of this power of indignation, which is a forcible expression of his idealism. To the fine qualities which touched his imagination in the old social order he remains true in his later stories and essays. More than once he has attacked the pretension, waste, and vulgarity of the ultra-fashionable set with unsparing vigor of feeling and speech; in a period of extravagance, display, and moral laxity he has stood resolutely for the old-time and all-time qualities of a real social

[1] Under the Crust. By Thomas Nelson Page. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.
The Coast of Bohemia. By Thomas Nelson Page. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.

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life—cleanness, refinement, honor, dignity, courage. For the cheap, self-constituted aristocracies of the day, the rank mushroom growths of a prolific soil, he has expressed the wholesome scorn of the man who hates vulgar shams and of the American who feels that the spirit of the country has been grossly caricatured by a horde of vulgarians. It is interesting to note the fact that American novelists have made common cause against these degraders of American standards and traditions; Mr. Howells, Mr. James, Mr. Wister, by portraiture, irony, invective, have stood, as Mr. Page has stood, for the Americanism which is not vulgarized by wealth nor perverted by leisure.

In the seven stories which make up the volume of short tales, "Under the Crust," the discerning reader will find the characteristic idealism of Mr. Page expressing itself in delicate and sympathetic studies of men and women to whom commercialism exists only to be resisted, and who live in the world as if life were still a matter of the spirit and not a matter of physical luxury. "Miss Godwin's Inheritance" is a charming study of the supremacy of sentiment in a woman's heart, and in delicacy of perception and sensitiveness to the more elusive qualities of character is quite on a level with Mr. Page's best work. The portrait of an idealist in "A Brother to Diogenes" is in another and broader style, and gains in effectiveness by reason of the vastness and solitude of its background; while "My Friend the Doctor" is a personal study in a beautiful kind of altruism rather than a piece of fiction. It would be a mistake, however, to convey the impression that Mr. Page draws only the men and women who live by the heart; the vigor with which he can sketch an elemental man is strikingly shown in the dramatic study of "A Goth." The stories in this volume are not of equal excellence, but it contains work which Mr. Page has never surpassed.

The slender volume of poems which Mr. Page put forth some time ago was one of those ventures which a man of fortune may safely risk, since if he lose the cargo he still remains in easy circumstances. The verses had appeared from time to time in various publications, and had struck many readers as singularly unaffected and sincere. If they sometimes lacked facility, they never fell short of a certain fine rectitude of artistic endeavor. Even more than in his stories does the writer of this modest volume reveal his devotion to high things, his courageous simplicity in the confession of his faith at a time when to have a faith is often regarded as the sign of an amateur. The poems ring true; they have the quality of sanity throughout; they are conspicuously free from self-consciousness; and they are often happy in the ease and freedom of their phrasing. Putting aside the temptation to quote from the graver work in "The Coast of Bohemia," a poem in a lighter vein will show how well Mr. Page can sing when the lyric mood is on him:

THE APPLE-TREES AT EVEN

Ah! long ago it seems to me,
Those sweet old days of summer,
When I was young and fair was she,
And sorrow only rumor.

And all the world was less than naught
To me who had her favor;
For Time and Care had not then taught
How Life of Death hath savor.

And all the day the roving bees
Clung to the swinging clover,
And robins in the apple-trees
Answered the faint-voiced plover.

And all the sounds were low and sweet;
The zephyrs left off roaming
In curving gambols o'er the wheat,
To kiss her in the gloaming.

The apple-blossoms kissed her hair,
The daisies prayed her wreathe them;
Ah me! the blossoms still are there,
But she lies deep beneath them.

I now have turned my thoughts to God,
Earth from my heart I sever;
With fast and prayer I onward plod—
With prayer and fast forever.

Yet, when the white-robed priest speaks low
And bids me think of Heaven,
I always hear the breezes blow
The apple-trees at even.

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Comment on Current Books

Novels and Tales

"The Convert," by Elizabeth Robins, is an interesting book[1] written with skill, and it discusses a problem which has been brought prominently before the English by a group of women nicknamed "Suffragettes." It is practically a history of the recent movement in England written from the standpoint of a sympathizer with the principles if not wholly with the methods of the agitators. The author gives us views of the street scenes where these courageous women talked to scoffing crowds of men that are photographic in their truth, and we may say in their lack of beauty. The heroine, Miss Vera Levering, becomes a convert, and, by using every possible means to help on the cause of womankind, as she conceives it, arouses both dangerous and dramatic possibilities. The English society group in the tale is admirably drawn. When they touch the border of the group of Suffragettes, more or less fanatical and more or less effective, the contact produced an electrical shock. The book will be read, especially in England, where the acute agitation has already passed away.

In Hamlin Garland's new story,[2] after marrying a rich old man she does not love, a young wife meets a young man whom she soon discovers she does love, and who, of course, has loved her since the electric moment of their first meeting. This familiar situation Mr. Garland has elaborated, with much circumstantial (and occasionally unpleasantly suggestive) detail, through some hundreds of pages, with little other originality than the manner of the ultimate disappearance of the chief obstacle to the young people's happiness—at the instigation, by the way, of the young man's fiancée, the only real character in the book, who also considerately takes herself out of the way and to her Eastern home, to die of tuberculosis. It might be accounted an original idea that a raw country girl, of impossible manners and speech, could so soon as here represented attain the poise of a finished woman of the world and be received into the very bosom of the elect—but many strange things happen in Western fiction, and doubtless we may suppose the rapidity of this evolution due to the ex-gambler husband's money magic, although the author puts no emphasis on this point of the tale.

The scene of Mrs. Ward's story[3] is a university town; the hero, a professor in the university; his vain and selfish wife, whose flirtations with the students engross her to the exclusion of her duties, a spoiled little son, and an almost too angelic sister-in-law, are the principal characters. A serious accident depriving the Professor of the use of his limbs for many months, he is thrown on the tender mercies of his volatile wife while "walled in." During this time he discovers that her flirtations are carrying her perilously far. The sister-in-law appearing on the scene, the invalid's condition becomes decidedly bettered. How the flirtatious wife's career is cut short, and the widowed Professor's hearth becomes the sphere of the much more worthy but almost too perfect Honoria's permanent ministrations, is told in somewhat long-drawn-out fashion.

The novelization of the play "Prince Karl"[1] is distinctly unsatisfactory; it is crude, sketchy, and unreal; the faults that effective stage setting and clever acting would render oblivious in an acted drama become very salient in a narrative read in cold blood. There is no originality in either the plot or character portrayal. The chief characters include the hackneyed rôles of a despotic mother-in-law, an Anglomaniac dude, and a Bostonian girl fresh from Vassar. The hero, Prince Karl, is a sort of Jekyll and Hyde character, only in the novelization the character is accompanied by considerable buffoonery. It seems a pity to pad out a successful play into a very inferior novel.

"The Heart Line"[2] (most appropriate title for a palmist's romance) is a good love story and something more—a really clever exposition of the methods of charlatanry among clairvoyants, spiritualistic mediums, "healers," and other deceivers of the credulous. Also it presents several clear-cut characters from this class of adventurers and from literary and artistic Bohemia. This having been admitted, it may seem ungrateful and captious to mention our doubts as to the truthfulness of its pictures of San Francisco society; our criticism of the author's iterant employment of certain unusual words, in the obvious effort at distinction of style; and our objection to the anticlimax of his Epilogue.

Himself an Indian, Mr. Eastman is qualified to speak authoritatively on anything pertaining to his race, and these tales,[3] told

[1] The Convert. By Elizabeth Robins. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.
[2] Money Magic. By Hamlin Garland. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.
[3] Walled In. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Harper & Brothers, Nw York. $1.50.

[1] Prince Karl. By Archibald Clavering Gunter. The G. W. Dillingham Company, New York. $1.50.
[2] The Heart Line. By Gelett Burgess. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.
[3] Old Indian Days. By C. A. Eastman (Ohiyesa). The McClure Company, New York. $1.50.

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with a simplicity and directness of style according well with their subject matter, are much more than mere narrations of savage exploits and records of the legends and traditions, beliefs and practices, of a primitive people. Certainly they give a quite new and welcome idea of Indian character, especially of the womanliness of their women and the high moral courage and chivalry of their men. Mr. Eastman's may be an idealized conception, but it is a very pleasant one to entertain, and we feel personally grateful for the refreshment afforded by more than one exquisitely idyllic tale among the dozen or so in his volume.

A charming old woman and her gallant nephew, a retired army officer, joint guardians of another nephew's son, are two characters that make Octave Thanet's "The Lion's Share"[1] worth while; and the ludicrously self-complacent wife of still another nephew may be included as a safe third, while "honorable mention" must be given the great financier involved in its plot of "big deals," kidnapping, mystery, and revenge. The story is more wholesome than this enumeration would seem to indicate, although quite unconvincingly sensational, and, apart from its entertainment as fiction, it touches suggestively some of the graver industrial problems of the day.

Myra Kelly, though no longer a teacher on the East Side, keeps in touch with the children of that crowded region, and we are still fascinated by her stories of those whom she calls, in a late volume, "Wards of Liberty."[2] Eva and Sadie and Morris still adore Miss Bailey and converse in their "near-English" with her. There is more pathos, and more depth of revolt at some of the hard conditions among the poor, in these stories than in those preceding. "Little Bo-Peep" is a horrible picture of suffering, and some of the others are heavy with sorrows. But humor in phrase and situation lightens all, while heterodoxy actually rages in some of the tales and awakens carnal joy in the minds of readers not connected either with kindergartens or public schools.

A sweet and touching story called "Grandmother,"[3] by Laura E. Richards, portrays with sympathetic art a life of self-abnegation so complete that it was described by those of less self-control as a "life that never was lived." A young girl forced by circumstances into marriage with an old man gave him the loyal gratitude and devotion his kindness merited. She overcame the hatred of his passionate granddaughter of her own age, and became the loved "Grandmother" of all the village children, for whom she wove sweet songs and pretty stories. The tragedies of her inner life were never realized by those about her, but they caused her to be a benediction to every one who knew her.

A garland of delicately wrought stories by Mrs. Freeman is called by the title of the first, "The Fair Lavinia;"[1] they range through that part of human life where this author is so completely at ease. These dainty ladies, prettily clad, with refined, innocent natures, meet the complexities of their love affairs with due dignity and composure. May we confess our pleasure in the fact that they are not invariably thin and shy? An occasional quickly suppressed burst of independence in one or two of the group reassures us as to our common humanity. The stories are like old-fashioned shell cameos; the flush of life and beauty shows through the carefully fashioned faces.

The story of "John o' Jamestown"[2] opens in an English vicarage. The vicar's little son becomes at once possessed of a sister and a foster-sister. The latter is the child of a lady whose identity is not disclosed until many years later. She dies, and her baby is left to the care of the vicar and his wife. The little boy grows up to be the child's defender and lover. Their romance is interrupted by his departure to America, where he becomes a trusted friend of Captain John Smith. History is woven with the love story, and while there is nothing very unusual in the telling, the author, Vaughan Kester, uses the abundant material well.

Frances Benson was "The New Missioner's"[3] name, and she was missionary to a small mining town in the Rockies. Here is the story of her labors there, and her love story—one of renunciation, of course. It is an unusual piece of fiction, and more than once really touches the heart.

Anthony Hope's "Sport Royal"[4] is a very light and airy trifle, hardly important enough to deserve the special honor of decoration and ornamental binding here given to it. It has, in a minor way, some of the dash of "The Prisoner of Zenda."

The impression made on one's mind by "Kilo,"[5] which deals with the labors and love of an irrepressible book agent, is that a

[1] The Lion's Share. By Octave Thanet. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Indiana. $1.50.
[2] Wards of Liberty. By Myra Kelly. The McClure Company, New York. $1.50.
[3] Grandmother. By Laura E. Richards. Dana Estes & Co., Boston. $1.50.

[1] The Fair Lavinia and Others. By Mary E. Wilkins Freeman. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.
[2] John o' Jamestown. By Vaughan Kester. The McClure Company, New York. $1.50.
[3] The New Missioner. By Mrs. Wilson Woodrow. The McClure Company, New York. $1.50.
[4] Sport Royal. By Anthony Hope. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.
[5] Kilo. By Ellis Parker Butler. The McClure Company, New York. $1.

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little of it is very funny indeed, but that there is altogether too much of it.

The Salon in France

The author of this acceptable volume[1] illustrates the part played in the history of French society by the salon through presenting four typical women of the eighteenth century. These she herself characterizes neatly and briefly as follows: "No two persons could well be in greater contrast than exclusive, aristocratic Madame du Deffand and bourgeoise, philanthropic Madame Geoffrin, her rival. Julie de Lespinasse and Madame d'Epinay illustrate the gentler and more feminine types of character." Perhaps there will be more interest felt among English and American readers in Julie de Lespinasse than in any of the others because of the discussion as to her introduction in Mrs. Ward's novel, "Lady Rose's Daughter." But all of the studies are decidedly interesting both from a psychological and a sociological point of view.

Some Agreeable Essays

It was said of Miss Sherman's collection of essays called "Taper Lights" that her style was "a satisfaction in itself, now clean-cut and terse, going swiftly and trenchantly to the mark, now richly allusive and elusive." The same is true of her new volume, "Words to the Wise and Others."[2] The chapter on "Modern Letter-Writing," that on short story writing under the title "Our Comédie Humaine," including a list of choice stories by over a hundred American writers, and that on "The Root and Foliage of Style," are certainly good reading, and none the less so because they are unconventional and colloquial. We may also commend the essay on "Serendipity"—a word and a thing in which The Outlook's correspondents some time ago showed special interest.

An Unrepresentative Book

Many friends of the late Maltbie Babcock will welcome any book which purports in any way to give in written form the message of this gifted man. It is, however, to be regretted that this book,[3] which consists of notes taken in longhand of his sermons and filled out by the writer, should be given to the public as in any way reproducing the power and effectiveness of his preaching. This book, too, is printed against the strongly expressed wish of Dr. Babcock's family and nearest friends, who, after careful reading of the manuscripts, felt that they were an utterly inadequate expression of Dr. Babcock's message. Here and there flashes of the real man and of his unusual insight into truth occur, but in general these so-called fragments are disappointing.

A Self-Revelation

An anonymous volume[1] of biographical recollections, called "Father and Son," offers to the curious an absorbing study of temperament. It is published as a document, a record of educational and religious conditions which the writer concludes have passed away, never to return. He calls it the diagnosis of a dying Puritanism. He is profoundly mistaken, however, in imagining that merriment and humor are mingled with the pathos of his narrative. There is not a gleam of humor to one who sees below the surface, or apprehends to any great degree the meaning of life. The whole thing is pathetic to an unusual extent. A little boy of sensitive nature, yet of singularly limited imagination, is brought up in the exclusive companionship of his parents, who married rather late in life. They were both gifted in mind and had cultivated literary tastes, added to unusual ability as students of both natural and theological science. Their extraordinarily narrow religious outlook is the essential point in the story. It was the farthest extreme of English Puritanism. The effect upon the son, in after life, was to convince him that, in his own words, evangelical religion or any religion in a violent form is neither wholesome, valuable, nor desirable as an adjunct to human life. "It divides heart from heart. It sets up a vain, chimerical ideal in the barren pursuit of which all the tender indulgent affections, all the genial play of life, all the exquisite pleasures and soft resignations of the body, all that enlarges and calms the soul, are exchanged for what is harsh and void and negative." Surely there can be no chance for comedy in a training that ends in this verdict. Yet the son bids us believe, and we must, that in all the horror of his boyhood days he kept his respect and love for his father and revered the memory of his mother. The exhortations to which he was obliged to listen, continually, dealt not with conduct but with faith, and he was grateful to his father, when he was sent away to London alone, that he never lost his beautiful faith in the son's morals. There was a certain happy comradeship between father and son when the former was investigating the life in the sea off the coast of Devon and Cornwall—a fairy paradise now disap-

[1] The Salon. By Helen Clergue. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3.

[2] Words to the Wise and Others. By Ellen Burns Sherman. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50, net.

[3] Fragments that Remain. Reports of Sermons of the Rev. Maltbie D. Babcock, D.D. The F. H. Revell Company, New York.

[1] Father and Son: Biographical Recollections. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50, net.

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peared, rifled by collectors who were largely attracted to the search by the father's book, the "History of the British Sea-Anemones and Corals." That the son of such parents and of such a home where serenity reigned should hold with feeble grasp a merely imitative faith, and loosen that hold when maturity came, is a sad comment not only on the parents but on the son, and indicates a singular maladjustment of temperaments among three who should have both loved and understood each other.

A Gentle Woman "The Autobiography and Diary" of Miss Elizabeth P. Channing[1] discloses a noble, gentle woman who lived a long and useful life. At her death in 1906 she was the eldest representative of the Channing family, a name associated with the Unitarian faith. Her father, a clergyman, was the brother of William Ellery Channing. She was influential through her writing and speeches, constantly devoted to the cause of pure and enlightened personal religion and worship. She was born in 1818 and lived in the formative period of our National life, watching religious, social, and intellectual growth with eager interest. Her diary is the simple record of a thoughtful mind, essentially womanly, carrying on homely tasks with patience, yet capable of sharing in the world's movements. Endowed with common sense and humor, she was dignified and of strong individuality. It is a good thing to read the reflections of so pure a mind and heart. She was a great reader, and comments brightly upon books. "Jane Austen is my queen of humor, calm, nimble, and complete." She quotes with gusto an anecdote from a paper read before the Unitarian National Alliance Branch meeting, on "The Evil of the Hurry Mania." "A child said, '*I* was present when I was born, and *Grandmamma*, but Mamma had gone to the club.'" Near the close of her life she wrote: "I have sometimes known not which way to turn for time, and my heart fails me at the thought that but for the world's work I might have been more and done more for home. I regret that we are not as quiet, as gentle, as hospitable and reverential as in my youth; but we are more tolerant of opinion, have more intelligent charity and sincerer conviction of the rights of others, and there is a growing courtesy, chivalry, and justice to unmarried women. . . . It is my solemn conviction that it is impossible to live to any good purpose without personal religion . . . and it should be every one's mission, by act and word, to persuade lovers and friends of the truth of this."

[1] Autobiography and Diary of Elizabeth Parsons Channing. The American Unitarian Association, Boston. $1, net.

Poor Poland Despite "Thaddeus of Warsaw," despite Mr. Morfill's admirable "Story of Poland," Americans know little about the real Poland. But during the years which have elapsed since the publication of the latter there has been increasing need for something which should describe actual, present-day Poland. This need has now been satisfied. Mr. Van Norman has had unusual opportunities of studying Poland at first hand, and his sympathies for the people are naturally keen, as he married a Pole. On every page of the present volume we are conscious of that knowledge and sympathy. Madame Modjeska in her introduction to the volume recognizes the faithful portrayal of many Polish characters, some of them her personal friends—indeed, several of them, including Sienkiewicz himself, were members, with Madame Modjeska and her husband, of the Polish colony of California. Between two million and three million Poles are now in this country. As to history, when the rest of Europe was sunk in petty wars Poland upheld nobler ideals; when the rest of the Christian world would not receive the Jew, she did; "her bosom was a refuge for the Hussites and emigrants of the Thirty Years' War;" with a religion and civilization based on those of Rome, and a language modified by Latin influence, Poland has opposed the Byzantinism of the Slav race itself. Such is the country of Copernicus, Sobieski, Kosciuszko, Pulaski, Chopin, and such the country whose territory, before dismemberment, was greater than that of modern Germany. While the chief reason alleged for Poland's dismemberment by the three adjoining Empires was that the ruling classes of those Empires feared to have near them the influence of so democratic a national unit as Poland, the author acutely points out that there has now been considerable democratization of Austria, Germany, and even Russia; consequently the alleged object of dismembering Poland does not exist as formerly—in fact, dismembered Poland presents much more a problem than independent Poland possibly could. Turning from history to psychology, while Mr. Van Norman modestly disclaims any attempt to present a comprehensive study of national psychology, we may welcome his additional testimony to more or less well-known Polish characteristics—the tendency to go to extremes, to be over-emotional and over-senti-

[1] Poland: The Knight Among Nations. By Louis E. Van Norman. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.50, net.

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mental; "with them there is no mean in emotion, intellect, or society. They love or hate. They are brilliant or slow. They are nobles or peasants." As Sienkiewicz admits somewhere, the Slavs have too much of that restless Aryan spirit, in consequence of which their minds have never been balanced. And yet the Poles have made "a record of gallantry and chivalry in war so splendid and untarnished that the world knows not its equal, an idealism, and a subtle grasp of the fundamentals of the human heart . . . a keen, brilliant, intellectual versatility, a boundless hospitality and courtesy, a sympathetic, poetic responsiveness." As might be expected, Mr. Van Norman properly emphasizes Poland's splendid service to the worlds of music and literature, in describing for us the actual Poland, enveloped in its atmosphere of historicity. But he does more. He tells us that a new Poland may arise. For a long time Poland's political condition has been practically hopeless because of the lack of a middle class. But a middle class is arising, not made up of Germans from the outside or from Jews within, but of the native-born, orthodox Poles themselves. The old impatience of necessary legal restraints and the lack of cohesion in the classes have now given place to something better. In this critic's opinion, any triumph of Polish nationality is likely to come, not so much from Polish efforts for independence nor from foreign intervention as by the loosening of the grip of Russia, Germany, and Austria through the pressure of problems more vital to their own nationalities. Self-preservation is a first law of nature both to the individual and to the nation.

Life Superlative

The name of Stopford Brooke represents to all who know the man a character of benignity, purity, and courage, who has sacrificed much for fidelity to conscience, and has been a source of light and strength to many doubting and unsteady souls. The extracts from his discourses of which this volume is composed,[1] grouped under a few titles and many sub-titles, present the various traits, purposes, and ideals of "the life which is life indeed." A strenuous spiritual morality, a religion that means righteousness, courtesy, and beauty, a Christianity intent on the true commonwealth which demands of all citizens a chivalrous devotion to every human interest, pervade these pages with their inspiration. Here is the practical idealism for lack of which daily life is arid and barren. This is a book good to have on the table for leisure moments and their opportunities of refreshment for the higher self.

[1] The Life Superlative. By Stopford A. Brooke. The American Unitarian Association, Boston.

An Ancient Book of Travel

The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson, Gent., is worthy of a place on the shelf which contains that delightful work of ancient travel and whimsical humor, "Coryat's Crudities." Moryson was born in Lincolnshire in 1566, a son of a Moryson who was "Clerk of the Pipe," whatever that may mean. He was educated at Cambridge, in what, to the horror of modern spelling reformers, he invariably calls Peterhouse Colledge. He spent ten years in traveling through "forraigne parts," and these two well printed volumes give a minute account of his adventures in "Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland." His book was first written in Latin, and then by himself translated into English. The reprint[1] follows the ancient spelling, but not the f-like s, while the old forms of i, j, u, and v have also been changed in accordance with modern usage. The work was well worth reproducing in this form—the last previous complete edition appeared in 1617—not only for its interest as a curiosity of literature, but also for its close and minute description of antiquities many of which have passed away since Moryson's day, and his descriptions of life, customs, and manners in the "Twelve Dominions" above named. It differs, however, from "Coryat's Crudities" in that there is no attempt at the comicality of manner which in the latter book, it must be confessed, often degenerated into mere clownishness.

[1] An Itinerary. Written by Fynes Moryson, Gent. In 2 vols. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.25, net, each.

British Colonial Policy, 1754–1765

The title of this monograph[2] disguises, except from the practiced eye, its claim on the interest of American readers. While directly treating of British imperial policy, it is indirectly a study of the causes of the American Revolution. Based on original researches in British state papers, largely unpublished, and other contemporary documents, it effectually dispels the legendary estimate, still current, of that great struggle. If one cannot acquit the imperial authority of unwisdom, neither can the colonist be acquitted of unreason and insincerity. This is a book that Fourth of July orators will have to reckon with, sooner or later.

[2] British Colonial Policy, 1754–1765. By George Louis Beer. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2, net.

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Letters to The Outlook

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

In your issue of November 16, in speaking of the British railway strike, you say: "If industrial corporations are to adopt the principle of combination, as seems inevitable, labor must be equally allowed that privilege, in order that it may deal on terms of equality with capital." In theory this appears perfectly equitable, but, unfortunately, under present conditions the term "equality" between such organizations is theoretical only, because of the frequent, if not general, irresponsibility of labor unions. No more clear-cut instance of this is required than the present condition in the printing business.

A year ago the International Typothetæ held a long and exhaustive conference with the International Pressmen's Union upon the subject of the eight-hour day. The former urged that the reduction from nine hours to eight hours should not go into effect until January, 1910. The Union insisted that it should date from January 1, 1908. A compromise was finally effected, making the time of the change January 1, 1909, and an agreement was made specifying this date, containing clauses forbidding strikes or lockouts during its term, and accepting arbitration for all disputes which might arise between the two organizations. This agreement was duly signed and ratified by the officers of the Typothetæ and by the President and the Committee of the Pressmen's Union, who had been duly delegated by that body to take action in the matter.

In August last a Convention of the Pressmen's Union was held, the officers who had made this contract were turned out, and a new set elected, who forthwith announced that the contract in question was null and void and was to be ignored. Instructions were given to the members of the Union to demand the eight-hour day at once, and upon its refusal to "go out." A number of strikes took place throughout the country, but principally in New York. The Typothetæ brought the matter into court, and at once secured a sweeping injunction, calling upon the Union officers to live up to their perfectly clear-cut contract, in which there existed no possible ambiguity. While the Union was thus possibly compelled to accept the *letter* of the law in not officially ordering strikes, the "walk-out" in many offices continued, causing heavy expense and loss to the employers.

Here we find one party to the contract fully living up to the same, and in New York for many months, in consideration of this contract, paying their employees an increased rate in wages of ten per cent, while the other party ignores entirely its obligation, and being, officially, entirely irresponsible, it can be held to its contract by no pecuniary damages.

In its somewhat partial leaning towards organized labor, The Outlook occasionally errs, we think, in assuming that because agreements between employer and employee, or between capital and labor, are themselves reasonable and proper, therefore the two parties in such agreement may be equally held responsible to carry out the terms of their contract. Such is assuredly not the case, as has been shown again and again, and will not be until the labor organizations are incorporated and their treasuries are made accountable for breaches of contract.

P. B. J.

[The Outlook in the same paragraph said: "If the labor organizations are recognized as a proper factor in industrial adjustment, they must be held responsible for the acts and promises of their officers, and must be forced, if necessary, to carry out the contracts they make."—THE EDITORS.]

MISREPORTED EXTRAVAGANCE

In your issue of November 9 you publish an editorial paragraph upon the recent sale at auction of some furniture owned by the Mutual Life Insurance Company, with comments and calculations based upon such false premises and therefore so misleading and unjust that I take the liberty of calling your attention to its inaccuracies. One expects such things from the sensational and irresponsible element of the daily press, but it seems strange to me that The Outlook, which always stands for dignity and authoritative accuracy, should not have verified the truth of the newspaper statements upon which it relied, which might easily have been done by letter of inquiry sent to this office or over the telephone, before elaborating upon them.

The sensational press has been prone to harp upon the extravagance and questionable methods of New York life insurance companies, which were so thoroughly exploited by legislative inquiry two years ago, as if they still existed, thus doing an incalculable harm by causing a general and prolonged distrust of the principle of life insurance and

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retarding the work of upbuilding now vigorously under way by the new administrations of the companies which were under fire. No intelligent person doubts the economic value of life insurance, or the financial strength of the great New York companies, and if your editorial, even with its mistaken premises, had contained the lesson that the costly furniture recently sold was a token of *past* extravagance and its disposal a token of *present* reform work, its effect would have been helpful, because the present administration of this Company, for instance, is no more in sympathy with some of the methods of its predecessors than is the general public, and it is not my intention to condone in the least the undoubted extravagance exemplified in the purchase of this expensive furniture. But in reading your paragraph the casual reader will undoubtedly feel that another shaft of criticism is driven against the present administration. The paragraph is entitled "A Significant Auction," and it assumes that this Company has sent a million dollars' worth of furniture, purchased by the previous administration, to be sold at auction, that estimate of the cost being the one used by certain daily newspapers to whom sensation is more important than fact.

Did the writer pause a moment to reflect upon the enormity of that sum, a million dollars? Ten times one hundred thousand dollars!

Here are the facts: When the present administration came in, they found a suite of rooms on the seventh floor of the Company's home building which were used by the executive officers and for committees of trustees, and which were undoubtedly extravagantly furnished and decorated. These rooms were at once dismantled and rented to a railway company. Some of the simpler pieces of furniture which were practical for business use were distributed through the various offices, and the remainder are the pieces referred to in your editorial. Careful inquiry by me shows that *their total cost was not more than about $30,000.* Furthermore, a great part of the property sold at auction was never owned by this Company, but was collected from other places and referred to in the newspapers as ours. You will agree with me, I am sure, that the editorial would hardly have taken the form it did had the writer of it ascertained that there was a slight discrepancy of some $970,000 in the figures on which it was based.

WILLIAM FREDERICK DIX,
Secretary.

Mutual Life Insurance Company, New York.

[The Outlook regrets that, misled itself by specific statements in the daily press, it may have misled its readers as regards the amount of money spent by the old management of the Company in the extravagance now admitted by our correspondent. But The Outlook specially stated that the furniture "had now been very properly removed and sold at auction," and the whole tenor of the paragraph was such that it would seem to be impossible for any reader not to see that the criticism made was upon the old rather than upon the new management of the Company.—THE EDITORS.]

THE FISH AND THE FISHERMAN

It seems to me the anti-piscators go much too far when they say, "He [the fisherman] must shut up his heart to the death-agony of inferior creatures over whom God has given him power." That certainly is an inconsiderate assumption, doubtless made without reflection, for one need not seek far to find examples of gentle-spirited men (and women too) who loved or love the gentle art of angling. Will any of these supersensitive anti-angling gentlemen have the hardihood to charge Dr. George W. Bethune, Dr. Irenæus Prime, Dr. Henry van Dyke, or any other of the host of members of the clerical profession, past and present, who were or are lovers of angling, and lovers of their fellow-men as well, with callousness of heart or indifference to the "death-agony of inferior creatures"? Go to! And what of good old Izaak Walton, who had this to say on the subject: "We may say of angling as Dr. Boteler said of strawberries: 'Doubtless God could have made a better berry, but doubtless God never did;' and so, if I might be judge, God never did make a more calm, quiet, innocent recreation than angling."

The discussion seems to have shifted from the effect on the fish to the effect on the fisherman himself. Well, so far as my own experience goes, and it is not brief, extending as it does over more than half a century, I can say that I have usually found the true sportsman (not the "hog"), whether hunter or angler, of a broad, generous, and kindly spirit, free-handed and warm-hearted, quick with sympathetic help to suffering "inferior creatures," and without a trace of the implied brutalizing effect of either pastime.

And I have also found that the true sportsman is generally a lover of nature, finding almost as much enjoyment, although it may be only sub-consciously, in his surroundings as in the sport itself. Indeed, I believe that to these surroundings is largely due the effect to which Mr. Foord alludes but "can't define."

S. R. MORGAN.

Middletown, New York.

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THE KENTUCKY ELECTION

The election just held in Kentucky and Louisville is of more than local interest. When last May a Democratic Court of Appeals annulled the city election in Louisville of 1905 for gross frauds and abuses perpetrated by the local Democratic machine, and a Democratic Governor, to whom was intrusted the power of appointment to the city offices until a special election could be held, rose to the occasion by cutting loose from the discredited elements of his party by appointing Democrats of the highest personal character not connected with the faction that had perpetrated the outrages condemned by the court, the way seemed open for lifting the party to a plane that would have made it command once more the respect and support of the large body of Independents which has been created by the corruption into which it has fallen.

This expectation was strengthened by the course of this new administration. Mayor Bingham and his colleagues, Judge Lincoln, Judge Blain, and Sheriff Bullitt, have given the city an object-lesson in what good government means, of which the city was sadly in need. They have taken the police out of politics, unveiled crookedness and graft, enforced the Sunday laws, closed the pool-rooms, broken up the crap games, and driven from the city the crooks and idlers who were used for corrupting elections, and gave guarantees of an absolutely fair election—which they fulfilled to the letter on election day.

But the local machine would not nominate the appointees of the head of their own party in the State, but arranged for a primary in which it was evident that those appointees were to be slaughtered. They appealed to the State Committee for a commission under whose auspices a fair primary could be held, and when this was denied, they, with quiet dignity, declined to enter the primary, continuing to serve the city with the same fidelity, knowing that their term must expire in four months.

The man to whom was attributed the refusal of the State Committee to interfere, and the bringing out of a candidate in the city representing the aims and methods of the old machine, was Auditor Hager, the Democratic candidate for Governor. Had he stood with Governor Beckham in supporting the request for a commission and in cutting loose from the discredited Louisville machine, Mr. Bingham and his colleagues would undoubtedly have been nominated. It is possible they might not have been elected, as they might have been knifed by the disappointed element to such an extent as to give a majority to the very excellent ticket nominated by the Republicans, especially as many Independents felt committed to this ticket as in a certain sense the successor to the Fusion ticket that had been robbed of the election two years ago. But, however that might be, unquestionably Mr. Hager and the party would have been immensely strengthened in the State, and the Democratic ticket would probably have been elected by something like its usual majority.

But in supporting the machine ticket in Louisville Mr. Hager put himself in an impossible position. In the State at large he was meeting the greatly aroused temperance sentiment of the State by posing as the friend and champion of temperance reform. Mr. Tyler, the candidate he was supporting for Mayor in Louisville, was seeking to recover the losses to his party by an open bid for the saloon vote, promising to seek the repeal of the Sunday closing law, and pledging himself not to enforce it "as now interpreted." So embarrassing was the situation that Mr. Hager never made a speech in Louisville, and Mr. Bryan, who made two tours in the State, also declined to come to Louisville. This situation was admirably used by Mr. Willson, the Republican candidate for Governor, whose splendid canvass and personal popularity in Louisville, his home, did much to complete the discomfiture of the Democrats.

But behold the fatuity of the machine politician! Mr. Beckham was nominated for the United States Senate at the same primary by which Mr. Hager was nominated for Governor. His one part in the campaign was to speak for a Democratic Legislature, and that is the only thing that the Democrats saved from the wreck. But the word has already gone forth that the Governor is to be held responsible for splitting the party by his repudiation of those whom the Court of Appeals had branded as criminals, and that the defeat of the State candidates is to be taken as the repudiation by the people of the primary at which he was nominated, and the absolution of the members of the Legislature from their obligation to vote for him. How far they will be able to carry out this programme remains to be seen.

Meanwhile the State will have a splendid Governor, the Goebel murder cases will be taken out of politics, and Mr. Grinstead, a business man of high character, promises to give Louisville the same kind of government as Mayor Bingham has given it. For these splendid results the men who, first in the

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Fusion campaign and then in the long and apparently hopeless contest in the courts, fought the cause of free elections and honest government at the cost of incalculable time and labor and money, deserve the thanks of the whole country.

PEYTON H. HOGE.

Pewee Valley, Kentucky.

THE FREEDOM OF THE PULPIT

Dr. Abbott's most interesting article on a theme suggested by my book, "A Prophet in Babylon," in your issue of November 2, calls for a brief comment from me. The obvious assumption of the book is that my own personal opinions, in so far as they appear at all, are found in the sayings of John Gaunt, not in those of Dr. Jordan, who represents a type of man with whom I have little sympathy. But, waiving this point, can the personal experience of Dr. Abbott, or of Beecher, or of Moody, be taken as typical of the experience of the average minister? The man of outstanding force, or pulpit genius, can always assert his freedom. He is too strong to be interfered with. But what of the average minister? No doubt if he be a person of courage and honesty he will make himself respected even in a small community; but his task will be much more difficult than Beecher's or Moody's. Simply because the community is narrow, his relation to it will be much more intimate. He cannot attack forms of conduct which are reprehensible without appearing to attack persons, and there is no large body of outside public opinion to sustain him in any moral crusade which he may undertake. Often he is heroic enough to attempt it; but in how many cases does his position beget timidity and tame him to caution? And suppose that he should attack, not public questions, such as slavery, or questions of theology or Biblical criticism, but flagrant forms of dishonesty such as are common in business, and probably common among his hearers, how long will they allow him his liberty? "The disturber of religious pleasure"—an excellent description of the prophet, which Mr. Rauschenbusch applies to Jeremiah—is usually called upon to share Jeremiah's fate of social ostracism and worse.

So far as I am personally concerned, I am perfectly free to admit that I have always found entire liberty for the exercise of my ministry. But a strict self-examination leads me to suspect that I may not have been as honest and fearless as I should have been in my ministry, and that my immunity from contention may, after all, be due to the unconscious modifications of truth imposed on me by my environment. A true prophet might have fared very differently.

Besides this, I have lived long enough to observe that most ministers very soon discover the limits of their liberty, and that in countless instances these limits are narrow. This may be their own fault. It may be quite true that had they claimed a fuller liberty they would have achieved it. On the other hand, is it not true that the relation of the modern minister to his congregation, founded as it is upon his power to please them, and depending for its continuance on that power, must work toward compromise?

This appears to me the kernel of the whole matter. W. J. DAWSON.

[The Outlook might print with this some letters received from clergymen who have written to thank The Outlook for the editorial and to declare their agreement with it, but these letters were not written for publication. The Outlook has no doubt that, despite some interference with the "liberty of prophesying," the pulpit is as free a platform as is furnished by any organization in America.—THE EDITORS.]

THE PATHETIC STORY OF A CLAM

I am tempted to send you a personal experience which I have long wanted to put on record, as it refers to an occurrence for which I can vouch, and relates to the much-discredited clam as one of the human family who is supposed to have no emotions or *esprit de corps*. It happened one Christmas eve, when the family had gone to church, and "not a creature was stirring, save only a mouse," that I heard a noise as of rolling coal in the cellar, and, a quantity having been put in the day before, I went to the head of the cellar steps, and there, climbing laboriously up the pile of coal, was a rat holding a clam in his paws—clams had been put at the end of this pile of coal, and master rat had availed himself of it to get a good supper. I threw a large lump of coal at him, which compelled him to release his hold, and his leg was immediately caught by the clam, with the consequence of a squeal from the rat. He succeeded in getting away, and, hearing a continuous noise of sputtering, I went to the clams, and found them in a great state of agitation; what communication followed from the rescued member I never knew, but since then I have felt that no portion of our lower world can be scored as destitute of brotherly love or without power of giving expression to a sense of wrong inflicted, and the clam must take a higher place than has been allotted to it.

Wellesley, Massachusetts. H. E. B.

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